



Lafayette

THE HISTORY
OF
THE RESTORATION
OF
MONARCHY IN FRANCE.



BY ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE GIRONDISTS."

TRANSLATED BY
CAPTAIN RAFTER.

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I.

THE death of Napoleon, though it delivered the House of Bourbon from a competition for the throne, always to be dreaded with an opponent so popular in the army, did not, however, extinguish Bonapartism, but rather revived it under another form, fanaticism being always nourished by recitals of martyrdom. The liberal, or republican party, which dreaded the living Napoleon, affected to deify him after his death; and his name was opposed as a contrast, by the enemies of the Restoration, to the names as yet devoid of glory, of the princes who occupied, or who surrounded the throne. They

Enthusiasm for Napoleon.

made the former synonymous with the youth, the grandeur, and the glory of the nation; and the others they held up as a symbol of the old age, and decay of the country, and its subjection to foreign domination. This was odiously unjust: for the disasters of the two invasions, the occupation of Paris, and the contraction of the French frontiers, had been the penalty of Napoleon's reign; and the House of Bourbon had only reappeared after our reverses, to participate in and to repair these misfortunes, by probably saving our common country from dismemberment. But fanaticism pardons everything to its idol, and imputes all calamity to its victims. The memory of Napoleon, though shut up with him in his island, expanded itself still more freely, more inexhaustibly, and with greater fascination from his tomb. Both the people and the army seemed desirous of avenging the great captive for his European ostracism, by restoring an Empire, and raising altars to him in their homes and in their hearts. His name, in a little time, became a sort of popular and military divinity, to which nothing was wanted but a form of public worship. Contrary to real and material things, which apparently diminish in proportion as we recede from them, distance and death magnified him, as they magnify all imaginary objects. His birth, his boyhood, his rapid and mysterious elevation, his exploits in Italy and Egypt, his dreams of oriental Empire dissipated before St. Jean d'Acre, the vessel which had brought him back to the French coast as a fugitive, to make him master of the world, his armies innumerable as the migrations of nations, his fields of battle vast as whole provinces, his triumphs, his reverses, his abdications, his sea-girt prison in the bosom of far-distant oceans, his words flung from the summit of his rock to all parties, to give food, flattery, hope, and regret to every shade of thought; finally, his death, thrown back and commented upon in reproaches and imprecations against England and against the Bourbons, made Napoleon the talk of the universe, the miracle of the cabin, the epic-poem of the barrack, and the lever of that identical revolution of which he had been the scourge. With the exception of some of those men who, like Cato and Tacitus, resist the impulse of their age without

Opposition to the Bourbons

having the power to control it, posthumous Bonapartism absorbed everything and everybody: it mingled with the pride of glory, and with pity for the disasters of the country; it nourished amongst the masses one of those fatal popular feelings against which the reason of the few will always protest, but which prejudice, the genius of the multitude, will only make the more imperishable from its having henceforward the spell of distance and the inviolability of the grave.

II.

Opposition to the Bourbons thus derived a new force from the disappearance of the hero their antagonist, whose very tomb seemed to generate fresh enemies for them. From the day that liberalism no longer dreaded his return upon the scene, he became its idol, and it pretended to pity, to regret, and to adore him. It wanted a name to fling to the army to attract its discontent, its hatred, and its ambition round a shadow, and it seized upon his. This was the epoch of that hypocritical alliance between the men of the Revolution and the men of the Empire, which combined at once against the Bourbons the contradictory passions of liberty and despotism, to unite them, for the moment at least, into one sole faction. It was this faction, whose ringleaders, like the Roman Augurs, could not look at each other without smiling, that was incessantly concocting, without any other sincerity than the sincerity of hatred, what has been since called the fifteen years' comedy. A fatal example and an immoral lesson given to the people by these false liberals and false despots, who, by divesting doctrine of all truth, made opposition depravity, and rendered the Republic and the Monarchy after them equally impossible. An opposition may be upheld by a sophism, but truth alone can support a government. The Republic was the truth of the revolutionary party, and despotism was the truth of the military; but in the alliance these two truths became a falsehood, which condemned them to a perpetual hypocrisy during the struggle, to irremediable sterility after the triumph, and to absolute unfitness for any thing else than to nourish stormy

Change of Ministry.

and dangerous factions in the state: a terrible legacy which Napoleon dying still left after him to the world, the fanaticism of absolute power allied to the fanaticism of popular radicalism, to sap between them every institution of representative republic, or of moderate monarchy.

III.

The second ministry of M. de Richelieu was drawing near its end. Attacked in both Chambers by the violence of the ultra-royalist party; made unpopular without by that league of Bonapartists and liberals, masters alike of the press and the tribune; impaired in the opinion of the Count d'Artois by the secession of MM. De Villèle and De Corbière, who were tired of assuming the responsibility without sharing in the real power of the ministry; shaken in the heart of the King himself by the ascendancy of Madame du Cayla, who was preparing the way for a Church and Court ministry, secretly wished for by the Count d'Artois whose designs she served; the ministers tendered their resignation to Louis XVIII. The Monarch then received from the hands of his brother the new ministry, which had been prepared for him by the secret combinations between the Church party, the party of the royalist majority, the party of the Court aristocracy negotiated by Madame du Cayla, and the party of the Count d'Artois.

The King who had more penetration than any man of his time, was perfectly well able to account for the ambition, the influence, and the intrigues to which he was indebted for this ministry. With the exception of M. de Villèle, of whose capacity and moderation he himself had formed a judgment, and who, in his eyes, constituted the whole ministry, he gave himself very little trouble about the opinions, or the personal value of the other ministers. He willingly gave up to each of the projects, or ambitious views of the Chamber, the Church, or the Palace, the individual who personified such portion of influence in his council, in order thus to secure a working majority. In the eyes of Louis XVIII., as in reality, a

M. Villèle, the new Premier.

ministry is never more than one man, and for him this man was M. de Villèle. This minister who might be called *the good sense of royalty*, and who might have saved the Restoration had the Restoration been willing to be saved, has occupied too important a position, and left too great a void in the destiny of the Monarchy, to admit of a bare mention of his name without being more closely studied and defined, at the moment when he really undertook the direction of the government. The germ of public life is contained in the private individual, and the previous history of the statesman is an anticipation of his future career.

IV.

There was nothing in the external appearance of M. de Villèle, which could attract the favour, or even the attention of the multitude. Nature had been bountiful only to his intellect. His figure was small and stiff, his body meagre, his attitude wavering and undignified; unnoticed at first sight in the crowd, insinuating himself, rather than mounting into the tribune, he presented there one of those forms which are never even looked upon until it is known that they have a name. His countenance in which reigned, as a principal trait, a great power of attention, was only remarkable for perspicacity. His piercing eyes, his sharp features, his thin nose, his delicate mouth, devoid of cunning, his head bent forward in a studious attitude, his slender arms, his hands incessantly turning over papers, his modest action, wherein the indicating motion of the finger which demonstrates, generally prevailed over that amplitude of movement which inspires; all, even to the nasal and guttural quality of the voice, seemed to counteract in him that oratorical power so essential to the prime minister of a deliberative government. But his intellect revealed itself without the aid of any other organ. His countenance was modelled by his thoughts, his elocution supplied the place of his voice, his conviction enlightened his action, his intellectual lucidity shone forth through every part of his discourse, and constrained his auditors to follow, in spite of themselves, a mind whose views

His adventurous life.

were so just, whose progress was so upright, and which without dazzling always enlightened. So much light astonished, in a nature apparently so dull and spiritless; he was at first heard with indifference and inattention, but these feelings were succeeded by esteem, and ultimately increased to admiration. Such was M. de Villèle, a man who at first made no impression; but when he did, it remained for ever and continually increased in strength and profundity.

V.

His birth, his studies, the vicissitudes of his life, his long absence from his country during its revolutionary convulsions, his return after quiet had been restored, the life, at once rural and studious, which he led in his province, his neutrality, the result of a long estrangement from the affairs and the passions of his time and of his party, had wonderfully predisposed him for the direction of the representative system of a Restoration, in which a statesman should comprehend everything, while equally free from partiality and hatred, in order to bestow upon every interest and every idea, that portion of justice, of tolerance, and of favour to which they are entitled from government.

He was born at Toulouse, of a family originally Spanish, which had been established for some centuries in Languedoc. Being intended for the navy, and attached to M. de Saint Felix, commandant of the India squadron in 1792, he served in those distant seas during the convulsions of the mother country. The crews having mutinied against their officers, who refused to violate their allegiance to the captive monarch, the admiral took refuge in the island of Bourbon. The young officer accompanied his chief thither, attached himself to his destiny, preserved his life, was brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal of the island, defended himself with a degree of eloquence which made him remarkable, procured his acquittal, and obtained for himself at so early an age the esteem of the colony. There he married a young lady of a Creole family, fomented at the same time resistance to England and to the government of the Convention, preserved a spirit of indepen-

His modesty and political opinions.

dence and good order in the colony, was the life of the Colonial Council, and therein formed himself to political discussion and the management of men. He returned to Europe in 1807, after this long apprenticeship to the science of government, retired to his estate of Marville, near Toulouse, devoted himself there to agriculture, showed himself to be a man useful to the populations of the South, and signalized himself by his aptitude in the deliberative councils of the city and the department. In 1814 he followed, or led the impulse of royalist opinion in the South, rashly protested against the Charter in a pamphlet which flattered the violent opinions of the old regime,—an unreasonable act which he soon after had occasion to deplore, but which, at that time, gave him credit with the revolutionary party, and procured him the confidence of the Count d'Artois. He was elected a deputy of the Chamber of 1815, and obtained therein the slow but continuous ascendancy involuntarily decreed by political parties to those men who, while imparting confidence to their passions, relieve them at the same time from the labour of studying their affairs. He there maintained a prudent and able equilibrium between the ultras of the Chamber and the madmen of the Court; studying, upon a more extended theatre, men and things, and the political opinions of his country, which until then he had only had a glimpse of across the seas, or from the remotest part of his province; increasing in moderation and liberalism in proportion as he grew in influence, and rendering himself so much the more popular in his party through the less envy he excited by his modest and retiring nature. A happy man, whose real merit was thus veiled by nature under that apparent mediocrity of talent which excited no rival animosity. Being a minister without a department for some months, under M. de Richelieu, he had passed his noviciate in government; and on retiring from this semi-ministerial position, which he had accepted from devotion to the King and to his party, but which had lasted too long, he necessarily saw the government fall into his own hands. M. de Villèle, always modest, even in triumph, did not demand the title of President of the Council of Ministers. Nature assured him of this; and leaving it to time to

The Minister of Foreign Affairs.

ratify the assurance, he contented himself with indicating his colleagues to the King.

VI.

The most confidential and most devoted adherent of his personal policy was M. de Corbière, a member, like himself, of the Chamber of 1815. More fitted for parliament by character than talent, M. de Corbière had, in the eyes of the Court and of the nobility, the merit of defending the old regime from conviction more than from interest. He was of plebeian birth, and had only risen by his labour at the bar to that political importance which parties willingly confer upon those who serve without giving umbrage; a sort of volunteers of the aristocracy, who are enrolled in the day of struggle, and sent back after the triumph into their native obscurity. Being more an advocate than an orator, rough, untaught, epigrammatic, M. de Corbière, in contrast to M. de Villèle, was one of those meritorious men who raise themselves in public assemblies rather by their defects than their superior qualities. Possessing strict, but somewhat offensive probity, which enforced esteem, but was by no means attractive, M. de Corbière was the stern ingredient of the ministry; he was destined to make it feared by the liberals, and even by the royalists; he was dreaded by the first, inflexible to the second, burthensome to all, and better calculated to make enemies than friends for royalty. He was given the Home Department. His chief merit lay in his overbearing but faithful attachment to M. de Villèle.

VII.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was conferred upon M. Mathieu de Montmorency; and no one was better gifted by fortune and by rank to represent, in a worthy manner before Europe, France and the ancient monarchy renewed in its institutions. The foremost name on the roll of national nobility, having received from nature handsome features, dig-

His noble character.

nity from family, grace from education, courage from blood, frankness from tradition, eloquence from the tribune, a good understanding with the political reforms of the age from the revolution, elegance from courts, lessons from adversity, piety and tolerance at the same time from religion, M. de Montmorency was at this period the accomplished gentleman, new tempered in the revolution, which had imparted to chivalry a more manly and more civic cast; an aristocrat and a citizen, devoted but free, noble yet popular, respectful to the King and faithful to the nation, formed to conciliate the two regimes which the Restoration had brought to issue, by winning for the patrician the esteem of the plebeian, and gaining for France through him, in his past and present, the respect of Europe.

Born in the midst of the first ideas which had served as a prelude to the great acts of the revolution, fighting by the side of Lafayette in America, for democracy springing into life under the sword of these young aristocrats, he returned to France to represent his caste in the States General; the disciple of Sieyès and Mirabeau, he was the fifth to take the oath of the *jeu de paume*, and the first to relinquish, on the night of the 4th August, the privileges and inequality of the nobility, voting in the National Assembly for a single representation,—the sign of unity amongst the regenerated French people,—and demanding for Rousseau and Voltaire, the apostles of the revolution, the honour of public sepulture in the Pantheon. As the aide-de-camp of Luckner in the first wars of France against the emigration, he was threatened after the execution of his general, and became an emigrant like Lafayette, through the excesses of that democracy which devoured its adorers. Having returned to his country after the recall of the exiles, he rejected the seductions of Bonaparte; being connected with Madame de Staël and with Madame Recamier, by that worship which a manly and tender heart naturally pays to genius, to beauty, and to persecution, he was a member of that intellectual court which the daughter of M. Necker had formed in her retreat on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, where she nursed the flame of freedom on the frontier of imperial despotism. But years of exile, the blood he had seen shed of his

Patronised by the Church party.

friends and his relations, and the instinct of a soul naturally tender and contemplative, had made the early philosophical opinions of M. de Montmorency give way before the pious faith of his first education, the refuge of his disabused and saddened imagination. But this faith, so ardent in his own soul, was untainted with fanaticism, intolerance, or severity towards others; it held sway over his thoughts and acts, but in no respect over his friendships. It was, as with M. de Chateaubriand, at that time his friend, the poetry of his imagination, the adoration of his *souvenirs*. In 1814, M. de Montmorency, unshackled by any servitude to the Empire, had flown to meet the Count d'Artois in Franche-Comté, and was appointed his aide-de camp. At a subsequent period he had been chosen by the Duchess d'Angoulême as her *Chevalier d'honneur*. The confidential places at court, and the peerage to which his name had raised him, gave him a double influence in the royalist party. This party had pardoned him for his first principles, in consideration of his repentance and his return to religion and the monarchy, which had long preceded the hour when such repentance and return were the pledges of political favour. The Church reckoned upon him with the greater security that his piety had taken rise during his persecutions. M. de Montmorency was adopted by what was called the *Congregation*, at the period when this society was altogether religious, and nothing more than a reunion of prayers and an emulation of virtue. He advanced its piety, but he did not foresee its intrigues. This party, which boasted with pride of his noble name and his noble character, pushed him forward, unwittingly, from favour to favour, to establish a support for itself in the court and the government. M. de Villèle, who knew how popular the name of M. de Montmorency was in the royalist and religious parties, and in the circle of the Count d'Artois, and who had no occasion to dread in such a man either infidelity of heart or mental superiority, had placed with confidence the foreign policy of the government under his distinguished auspices

The other members of the ministry.

VIII.

The Ministry of Justice was conferred upon M. Peyronnet, a young gentleman of Bordeaux, until then unknown. A brilliant royalism bravely displayed in those tragical days when the Duchess d'Angoulême was struggling in the South against the insurrection of the soldiers; services rendered at the bar to Madame du Cayla, when claiming her freedom, her fortune, and her children, from a husband who persecuted her; the functions of attorney-general, implacably fulfilled against the conspirators of 1819, before the Chamber of Peers; speeches from the tribune, in which the zeal of southern fidelity, sublimed into a passion for the throne and the altar, sought for its eloquence in excess and defiance; a boldness of language which was backed by resolution of heart; a fine face, an adventurous life, an attitude which recalled more the hero of civil war than the magistrate, the applauses of the majority, the cabal of the Duchess d'Angoulême, the gratitude of the favourite, and a political fortune to make, the pledge of constancy and deference to the chiefs of his party; all these considerations had determined the choice of M. de Villèle in favour of this young orator, who was capable of serving well, but also of carrying his zeal too far, and of ruining some day, perhaps, while endeavouring to save.

IX.

The War Office was given to Victor, Duke of Belluno, a Marshal of France, who had risen from the ranks. This was a judicious and an irreproachable choice, which represented in one man plebeian equality, heroic bravery, and military fidelity; given to the army as a pledge, an example, and a spur to emulation.

M. de Clermont-Tonnere, a patrician, the representative of a great name, was placed at the head of the Admiralty. The issue of a sire whose talent had been rendered illustrious by opinions at once constitutional and monarchical, expressed in

Meddling of the Church party.

the tribune of the Constituent Assembly, and whose blood had flowed in atonement for his moderation,—educated in France, in the military schools of the republic,—having won his promotion in the armies of his country,—being esteemed for his acquirements and loved for his character,—M. de Clermont-Tonnere had no other disadvantage in the council, than a too prominent devotion to the political interests of that portion of the clergy who were then beginning to meddle with everything in the road to power.

Finally, M. de Villèle only reserved for himself the Ministry of Finance, until then a subordinate department. He would have preferred that of Foreign Affairs, of which he made a sacrifice to M. de Montmorency, whose name had a more aristocratical sound in the foreign courts than his own. But title is of little moment to him who has superior talent in the council. The modesty of M. de Villèle won him the hearts of that French aristocracy which was very willing to be inspired, but not made subordinate, by a new man.

X.

The real prime minister completed his political administration by placing at the head of the general police, M. Franchet, a man who until then had been obscurely employed in the offices of the department, but who was indicated by the Church party as a safe, capable, and zealous servant; M. de Lavau, an active and devoted magistrate, was installed in the prefecture of police of Paris, and the Duke de Laroche foucauld Doudeauville in the direction general of the post-office. People were astonished to see a Laroche foucauld,—the head of an illustrious and opulent house, whose son had married the daughter of M. de Montmorency, and, who, until then, had signalled himself by an unsparing life of disinterestedness and beneficence,—accept a secondary employment in the utility branch of power. The connection of M. de Laroche foucauld, his son, with the favourite and with M. de Villèle,—his active, though concealed intervention in the formation of the ministry,—the direction of fine-arts which he soon after accepted for himself,—

Its ambition and hidden policy.

and the association of all the members of this house with the ambitious Church party,—lead to the supposition that Madame du Cayla herself was only the negociator of this party, and that M. de Villèle, a stranger, and perhaps under the suspicion of this hidden government, had to bear with masters in his auxiliaries. It was, thenceforth, evident that he had accepted the hand of the religious congregation to rise to power. Too sagacious and too politic to believe that France would bend long under the yoke of this posthumous cabal, which dreamt of imposing a sacerdotal power upon a nation that could with difficulty bear even the power of a monarch, M. de Villèle justly anticipated that his concessions to the Church party would not be productive of any serious danger to him; that public opinion, the Chambers, the press, the tribunes, the elections, and the King himself, would lend him a superabundance of strength; that the sacerdotal party was a temporary anachronism in the destinies of the Restoration; that the political domination of these men, self-imposed upon, some by zeal, and others by ambition, would be promptly repelled by the nation; that they would have recourse to his prudence and his protection to defend them against public animadversion; and that, after having been for a few days their favourite and their client, he would again become, during a long reign, their moderator and their master. These anticipations were just, and would have been realised for a greater number of years, if this negotiating minister had better felt his strength, and if he had evinced, in his subsequent relations with the sacerdotal party, as much firmness as foresight and sagacity.

XI.

The ministry was scarcely formed when the factions, liberal and Bonapartist, military and revolutionary, whose coalition we have recorded at the commencement of this book, factions which until then had been restrained by the presence of the Duke of Richelieu, a temporising and moderate minister, at the head of the government, felt that the nomination of a ministry, avowedly royalist, was a declaration of war on the

Incipient plots against the Bourbons.

part of the crown, thenceforward subjected to the Count d'Artois, and threw themselves in their fright and anger into the most desperate measures. The veil so long thickened by the parliamentary dissimulation of the orators from 1822 to 1829, which covered active conspiracies with the name of the loyal and inoffensive opposition, has been rent asunder since 1830. The cabals, the plans, the plots, the instigators, the actors, the myrmidons, and the victims of these conspiracies have appeared in all the bold relief of their respective parts. The barracks, the secret societies, the prisons, and even the scaffolds have spoken. Under the mask of that open and ostensible opposition which struggled against the ministries, while it evinced a show of respect and inviolability for the royalty of the Bourbons, we have seen what obstinate and implacable conspiracies were framed to overturn that royalty; some in behalf of Napoleon II., others in behalf of the Republic, or of subaltern military pretenders, or of a foreign prince, or of a prince of the blood-royal, or finally, for the chance of raising up from, or engulfing in the general anarchy, bold dictators already put to the proof, such as M. de Lafayette, in dictatorships too formidable for their genius. We, ourselves, have received from some of the principal actors a portion of these mysterious disclosures: the rest we borrow from historians initiated, in their own persons, or through their party, into these conspiracies, of which they were confidants, instruments, or accomplices. Above all others we borrow from an historian at once conscientious, precise, and, so to speak, judicial, who has drawn up, trial after trial, the secret annals of this fifteen years' conspiracy: this is M. de Vaulabelle, a witness the more trust-worthy as his views of the Restoration are severe, and his opinion and sentiments involuntarily coincide with those of the conspirators, whom he has gratefully glorified for the admiration of posterity.

XII.

After the plots that were stifled in the blood of Didier, of Nantil, and of some other obscure conspirators, the survivors, being either pardoned or acquitted, took refuge in Alsace or

La Vendée ;—military provinces in which the guards of fortified places, the populous towns, the workshops thronged with the vulgar, the numerous garrisons, the artillery and cavalry schools of Metz and Saumur, in short, the unsteady, ardent, and soldier-like character of the population, afforded greater opportunities, and more chance of success, to concerted or spontaneous popular commotions. Instinct, or calculation, had fixed upon these two military centres of France—the eyes and thoughts of the enemies of the house of Bourbon. There also were concentrated in the greatest number those *Ventes*, or secret associations of Carbonarism, so antagonistic to the open hearts and generous nature of the French, but which the recent revolutions at Naples, Turin, and Madrid had introduced for a moment amongst us, as an arm foreign to our characters and customs. These *Ventes* were principally organised in the army, thenceforward the only instrument of decisive revolutions. From the 20th March, and the examples of Italy, Piedmont, and Spain, the troops had imbibed that initiative in revolutions which formerly belonged to the people. The French *Carbonari*, in beating up for recruits, gave a preference to the military. The sub-officers, young and resolute men, ambitious of promotion, influential with the soldiery, jealous of the officers, siding with the people by their subordinate position, with the citizens by education, with the army by their uniform, with the Bonapartists by their souvenirs, with liberalism by the journals, pamphlets, and patriotic songs which circulated in the idleness of a barrack life,—these were the agents most easily seduced, and most capable of seducing, in those regimental and garrison enrolments. They were the nucleus of the army, and the hope of the insurrection: one regiment seduced by the sub-officers would win over another; one fortified place would instantly secure a whole province. The example unpunished would gain, from one connection to another, fresh military accessions, and new provinces to the insurrectionary cause; the tri-coloured flag would fly spontaneously from rampart to rampart, and from one church tower to another; while a provisional insurrectionary government would impress upon these armed risings, concert and unity. The Bourbons surrounded with

Review of Lafayette's politics.

their guards in a disaffected capital, would scarcely be able to defend themselves against the inhabitants responding to the cry of the soldiery; they would consequently fly, or they must fall into the clutches of the general revolution. But what would this revolution become? That would be declared by the future. Meanwhile, until this future should explain itself, the character of this revolution was left in uncertainty, in the dread of discouraging any one of those hopes which all concurred in the longed-for ruin. The fanatics wished for Napoleon II., the shadow and popular illusion of his father; the politicians for the Duke of Orleans, whose popularity, at once princely and revolutionary, would impart to Jacobinism—restored in its greatest splendour—the power and privileges of the monarchy; the sub-officers longed to play the parts of Pepe and Riego, to distinguish themselves at the head of *corps d'armée*, and impose their bayonets and their conditions on military governments; finally M. de Lafayette and his friends were influenced by desires, heaven only knows how indefinite and unlimited, between the republic and the monarchy, the presidency, perpetual magistracy of the people, mayors of the palace, sovereign arbitration of parties, civic dictatorship, or protectorate of liberty and public order,—similar, no doubt, to that dignity which was hankered after, obtained by, and crumbled under, from 1789 to 1792, this illustrious man, who was by turns the terror of royalty, and the idol and play-thing of the mob.

XIII.

The quarter of a century which had elapsed since his first appearance in the world's crisis, his aspirations after liberty, his exacting and still insatiable thirst of popularity, his hand so often forced beyond his will, as on the 5th October, by the frenzy of the people, his rigorous conduct to the King, his weakness for the revolution, his generous but evanescent efforts against Jacobinism on the 20th June and 10th August 1792, his emigration to a foreign soil, his captivity, his dungeon, his martyrdom at Olmutz, his obscure return to France, his ten years' solitude, his joy on the Restora-

Disappointments of Lafayette.

tion of the Bourbons,—his satisfaction at their departure on the 20th March, his reappearance in the tribune as a veteran of liberty, during the second and short dictatorship of Napoleon, the signal of insurrection against the vanquished of Waterloo, given by him in the Assembly, his impatience for the definitive fall of the tyrant, the abdication he imposed upon Bonaparte at the Elysée, as he had so often done upon Louis XVI. at the Tuileries, the part of a liberal Cromwell eluding his grasp again at the moment he thought he had secured it in the ruin of Napoleon, his trip as a commissioner to the allied armies, seeking in a foreign prince heaven knows what species of temporary royalty, as easily got rid of as it would be absurd to inaugurate in France; every thing had deceived, but nothing had wearied in M. de Lafayette that ambition, at once personal and disinterested, so obstinately bent on the triumph of liberty, it is true, but which required that this triumph should be obtained through him. A man of some drift and forecast, rather than of decision and policy, he had temporised thus far, and accommodated himself to all, asking nothing more from events than such portion of progress as they might of themselves bestow, he had fomented rather than conspired. Legality had been his sword and buckler against power; the probity of the citizen had overspread the free thoughts of the philosopher, and the ambition of the popular man; he might be hated, but he could not be accused.

On this occasion, however, urged doubtless by the accumulation of years, and fearful that death might ravish from him, as from Moses, the promised land of liberty, he had forgotten his part of legal tribune, his character, his civic oath of deputy, his habits of open opposition; and he consented, at the risk of his safety, of his life, and of his conscience, to become the prime mover, the centre, and the chief of a gloomy conspiracy. All the secret societies of the enemies of the Bourbons, together with Carbonarism, which comprised them all at this moment, had their beginning and ending with him; his impatient ardour to annihilate the prejudices and the slavery which debase the human mind,—a sacred passion for

His perseverance in agitation.

the progress of humanity over all the globe,—a fanaticism cold, but deliberate and constant, to ameliorate the religious, moral, political, and material condition of man in society,—the courage of a sectarian and a martyr, still more than that of a tribune and a hero,—a self-importance which was reckless of life, but summed up everything in name, and which imbued him with that sort of worship and superstition for himself that fanatics entertain for their peculiar ideas;—these constituted at once the virtue, the fault, and the excuse of M. de Lafayette. We must add to these features, with which nature had endowed this party chief, two qualities which eminently fitted him for the part of a conspirator: an external coldness, which masking the concentrated and systematic enthusiasm of his soul, never betrayed itself by any agitation in the presence of danger; and a natural mediocrity which did not sufficiently correspond with the greatness of his thoughts, and which by freeing him from envy, that implacable enemy of superior men, left to all the party chiefs, grouped around his voluntary popularity, the satisfaction of carrying out his ideas, without the humiliation of bending beneath his genius.

XIV

M. de Lafayette,—who had been long forgotten by the nation, and whose name was only recalled by history to the memory of the royalists and the republicans, that he might be accused by the former of the captivity of Louis XVI., and by the latter for the blood shed in the Champ-de-Mars, or for deserting his army in an enemy's country,—reappeared and was magnified in liberal opinion, in proportion as the revolution, of which he was the symbol, seemed more and more threatened and annihilated by the Restoration. All malcontents offered themselves to him, and he enrolled them all. A small number of men, animated in different degrees against the Bourbons by personal or political hatred, republicans from recollection, liberals from feeling, revolutionists from fanaticism, Bonapartists from ambition or resentment, deputies, generals, military orators, journalists, pamphleteers, and artists;

Insurrectional committees.

some grown old in aspirations for liberty, others inflamed with the restless ardour of youth, and burning for action under a chief whose fame and experience imparted the spell of civism to their boldness; others again, embittered by the ingratitude of which they accused the Bourbons, for neglecting their services to the country; and others affecting a recent and hypocritical zeal for liberty, but hoping to avail themselves of the popularity of the great tribune to regain an emperor:— assembled in secret committee at the house of M. de Lafayette, deliberating on the prospects, the measures, and the watch words which trustworthy messengers bore to the Carbonari of the towns and the regiments, concerting the speeches, receiving information, despatching emissaries, hatching plots, and fixing the days of explosion.

The principal members of these supreme committees were Manuel, who after fluctuating for a moment during the hundred-days between the Empire, Orleansism, and the Republic, seemed to lean from prudence to a liberal monarchy, but was thrown back upon republicanism by the excesses of 1815, and by the threats of a counter revolution; Dupont (de l'Eure) without love, or hatred for, or against dynasties, but implacable against reviving theocracies and aristocracies, under a throne which they had a tendency to impose tyrannically upon the country; M. d'Argenson, an honest man, but a fanatic from a real, though unintelligible love for public virtue; James Kœchlin, the young and enthusiastic representative of a powerful manufacturing family of Alsace; the Count de Thiard, formerly aide-de-camp, during the emigration, to the young and unfortunate Duke d'Enghein, subsequently chamberlain to the Emperor, discontented with all systems, a courtier changed to a man of the people, having by turns fought against the Republic as an emigrant, served despotism as a courtier of the Emperor, hailed the Restoration on its return and abandoned it, and now engaged in the conspiracy against the Bourbons, not as a cause but to gain a position; General Tarayre and General Corbineau, officers of the Imperial army; M. de Schonen, a magistrate of ardent passions, son-in-law to M. de Corcelles; M. de Corcelles, an old emi-

The military Carbonari.

grant, of a fiery but unadulterated disposition, the honest impulse of whose heart easily quelled the hastiness of his temper: his son, a young man more cool, but as daring as M. de Lafayette, brought up with republican enthusiasm in the perilous confidence of these conspiracies; M. Mérilhou, a young advocate of high promise, thrown by the impetuosity of youth into associations which he was subsequently destined to oppose; others, in short, whose names, buried in obscurity, have only appeared amongst the agents of these prolonged machinations.

In the first rank of these trustworthy persons, M. de Lafayette, who did not spare even his own blood, reckoned his only son, George de Lafayette, an excellent young man, who possessed all the principles and virtues of him whose name he bore, without any other ambition than that of carrying out the opinions and the destiny of his race, and who was led into these conspiracies by one virtue alone,—filial tenderness, and the duty of following and defending his father

XV.

Some inferior conspirators, associated in the *Ventes* of the civil and military Carbonari in the fortified towns of Alsace, had prepared every thing for a simultaneous explosion in the regiments at Neubrisach and at Békfort. These two bodies of insurgents were to meet at Colmar, carry off the regiment of cavalry stationed there, spread the insurrection through the Vosges and in Lorraine, at Metz, at Nancy, and at Épinal: to close thus the communications with Paris, to blockade Strasburg, which would be agitated on their approach, proclaim a provisional government, a triumvirate, the intended members of which were M. de Lafayette, M. d'Argenson, and M. Kœchlin, to display the tri-coloured flag, the irresistible sign of glory and of freedom, and to await in formidable expectation until the example should seduce the other *corps d'armée* and the other provinces, and then to carry Paris itself and overturn the throne of the Bourbons. The night of the 29th December was the time fixed by the conspirators.

Pious delays of Lafayette.

M. d'Argenson and M. Kœchlin, both proprietors of immense manufactories in the vicinity of Mulhouse and of Colmar, and members of the future government, had left Paris several days before, under the plausible pretext of visiting their manufactories. M. de Lafayette was to rejoin them at the last moment, and he had already quitted Paris to go to his estate at Lagrange, that he might the more freely direct his steps to Béfort, where he was looked for to give the signal of the military movements in the garrisons.

But a pious family superstition, strange to say, at such a moment and in such an enterprise, induced M. de Lafayette to suspend his departure. The emissaries from Neubrisach, from Béfort, from M. Kœchlin, and from M. d'Argenson urged him in vain. He replied, that a religious anniversary consecrated by him every year to mourning and in memory of his wife, the companion of his dungeon at Olmutz, and the victim of her tenderness for him, would unavoidably detain him some days longer at Lagrange. Nothing could vanquish this obstinacy in his heart; whether it was that in risking his life for his cause, he wished to offer up his last farewell to existence upon the tomb of the woman he had most venerated; or whether he looked upon it as an evil augury for his enterprise to fail in a family duty that he might fulfil a political one. This delay produced some irresolution, some counter-orders, and some mistakes amongst the military conspirators of Neubrisach and Béfort; M. d'Argenson did not declare himself; M. Kœchlin urged his two colleagues, the one by his visits, and the other by his despatches. The friends of Lafayette, Manuel and Dupont (de l'Eure) opposed the departure of the chief of the conspiracy until he should have received a circumstantial and decisive report from M. d'Argenson and from M. Kœchlin, who were nearer than he was to the centre of the plot. M. de Lafayette relied upon his presence, on the genius of the revolution, and on the electric spark of liberty, and the first shock, in his opinion, would make both the army and the people spring forth. As to his life, he risked it in defiance of all prudence, ambitious, perhaps, of losing it heroically, still more to magnify his

Occasion mistakes and indecision.

memory. "I have already lived very long," he said to his son and to his intimate friends, who were recommending him to be prudent, "and it seems to me that I should worthily crown my life by ascending the scaffold while combatting, the victim and the martyr of liberty."

XVI

The day of his mourning having past in sad recollections and pious ceremonies, M. de Lafayette got into his carriage at nightfall, to conceal his route from the police, by whom he thought he was watched. One of his old servants who was to remain at the *Château of Lagrange*, and to whom his master had confided nothing of the object of his journey, sprang up on the seat of the *caleche* at the instant the horses were put in motion; "My friend," said M. de Lafayette to him, "what are you doing? My son and I are going to risk our lives; and I must apprise you that death may perhaps await those who may be seized with us." "You teach me nothing," replied the domestic with a firm voice, "You need not reproach yourself if I fall with you on this journey; I am going on my own account, and it is my own opinion also to which I devote myself." M. de Lafayette and his son were moved, and no longer doubted the success of a cause in which the fanaticism of the revolution had descended even amongst the inferior classes, and in which men who were the greatest strangers to political systems were desirous of participating in death as they did in opinion.

XVII.

While M. de Lafayette, his son, and after them a chosen number of young conspirators of the *Patis Ventes* were proceeding, under various pretexts and by different routes, towards *Béfort*, where the matured and impatient conspiracy only awaited their arrival to explode, these ill-explained delays of its chief had sown at *Neubrisach*, at *Béfort*, and at *Colmar* some uncertainty and some timidity in the ranks of the

Confidence of the conspirators.

military Carbonari. An officer since celebrated in the struggles of the pen and the sword against the monarchy of 1815, and against the monarchy of 1830, young Carrel, then a lieutenant of one of the regiments in garrison in Alsace, together with Colonel Pailhès of the old Imperial Guard, hastened to Bèfort, one from Neubrisach and the other from Paris, to give leaders to the soldiery.

By one delay after another, the 1st January had now arrived. It was known that Lafayette had left Lagrange, and would arrive in the course of the day, or during the night, at the gates of Bèfort. The town was full of young men associated in the plot, who had flocked in from the neighbouring provinces, and from the capital, to create, at the moment the signal should be given during the night, one of those irresistible currents of groups, of commotion, of noise, and acclamations which seduce the people and the soldiery. The assemblies, the tumults, and the banquets of the festive day, which ushers in the new year, served to mask from the eyes of the civil and military authorities of Bèfort, the unusual assemblage of so great a number of strangers in the public places, and in the taverns of the town and the suburbs. The hour of rising was so near, and the success so certain in the eyes of the conspirators, that already at the close of the day, they disdained to dissemble their design, but putting on their uniforms and the tokens of their former rank in the army, scarcely covered with their cloaks, they mounted the tri-coloured cockade in their hats, armed themselves with sabres and pistols, and with premature explosions of triumph, which were heard echoing from the walls of the taverns by the passers-by, they loudly toasted the Empire, the Republic, glory, and freedom.

The night having arrived, a second lieutenant of the regiment in barracks at Bèfort left his accomplices amidst the joy and intoxication of these festivities, which were to be prolonged till the hour of blood; with an affectation of complaisance he took the tour of duty of one of his brother officers, a stranger to the plot, and assumed the command of the guard at the principal gate of the town, that he might open it to admit Lafayette, and with him the revolution.

Discovery of the Bèfort plot.

XVIII.

At the same hour, Adjutant Tellier, one of the boldest and most trust-worthy of the initiated sub-officers of the regiment, returned to barracks, assembled all the sergeants in his room, and without revealing to all the motive of this meeting, which was only known to a few, he ordered them, as if from the commanding officer, to keep all their men in their barrack-rooms in heavy marching order, to put flints in their locks, as if to prepare for an alarm, and to be ready to turn out into the barrack-yard at the first sound of the drum. This premature injunction of the adjutant was understood by the initiated ; but though obeyed by all, it astonished some of the sub-officers who had lately joined the regiment. Two of these, whether from secret disquietude at so strange and mysterious an order, emanating merely from the adjutant and at such an hour, or whether with a view to accomplish more literally in all its details the order they had received, quitted the barracks after the gates were closed, and went to ask more precise instructions from the captain of their company, who was spending the evening at a private house in town. The captain rose from the table at the summons of his sergeants, and was astonished that such an order should be given to his men, unknown to him and in his absence ; he supposed, however, that it must have emanated direct from the lieutenant-colonel, and went at once to interrogate him in his turn. The lieutenant-colonel, no less surprised that such a summons should be issued to his regiment without coming through him, ascribed it to Colonel Toustain, the commandant of the garrison. He therefore hastened to his residence with the captain, to learn the cause of this nocturnal summons, but the commandant evinced the same astonishment as himself. The idea of a military plot which had got wind some days before, occurring at the same instant to both, the lieutenant-colonel flew to the barracks to contradict the order, and to clear up the mystery. While he was hastening thither, one of the sergeants, who had gone to interrogate their captain, returned to his post, and ingenuously recounted to Adjutant

Bravery of the commandant.

Tellier what he had done, and the astonishment of his officer. Tellier, feeling that all must come to light on the return of the captain and the lieutenant-colonel, fled, and hastened to warn Colonel Pailhès and the conspirators, who were assembled at a *café* on the square, to provide for their safety. Pailhès, who was already armed and dressed in his uniform, divested himself, as did also his friends, of everything which might denounce them, fled in the darkness towards the gate commanded by the conspirator Manoury, and cleared it with their principal accomplices.

At the same instant the Commandant Toustain, followed by the first group of fusiliers he could lay his hand on, advanced towards the gate to visit the post; a group of half-pay officers in plain clothes were chatting with Manoury under the archway at the draw-bridge; the commandant addressed them, summoned them to declare their names, recognised them by the light of the guard lantern, put them under arrest, and consigned them to Manoury's charge. Alarmed at this encounter, an indication of some mysterious assemblages on the opposite side of the ramparts, the intrepid commandant ordered the gate to be opened, passed the outer fortifications, perceived at a distance in the shade the group of Carbonari strangers, and the accomplices of Colonel Pailhès, who had but just quitted the town, and were waiting under its walls for the arrival of Lafayette; he advanced sword in hand towards one of the nearest conspirators, whom he recognised by his uniform and his arms to be an officer of the garrison. Stretching forth his hand to arrest him, the officer, a second lieutenant named Peugeot, instead of surrendering fired a pistol point-blank at M. de Toustain, who fell at his feet bathed in his blood. At the report of the pistol, the conspirators dispersed by different routes through the country, foreseeing that the murder of the commandant would effectually alarm the garrison.

M. de Toustain, however, was only wounded, the Cross of St. Louis, which he wore on his breast, having deadened the ball. He arose, returned under the archway of the gate, and demanded the prisoners whom he had but just before consigned to the guard, but he only found the soldiers there, left to

Narrow escape of Lafayette.

their own discretion by Manoury, who had hastened to fly, with his comrades on the discharge of the pistol. The troops having turned out at the voice of the commandant and the orders of the lieutenant-colonel, were drawn up on the square and upon the ramparts; while the conspirators, who were still in the suburbs, hastened to escape in disguise, or to hide themselves in safe asylums from the search of the authorities. Carrel departed again during the night for Neubrisach. M. de Corcelles, Jun., one of the most trustworthy associates of the directing committee of Carbonarism, and the most vigilant and affectionate precursor of the steps of M. de Lafayette to B  fort, galloped off with another Carbonaro of Paris, M. Bazard, to meet the supreme chief of the abortive revolution, on the road from B  fort to Paris. A few leagues from the former place they met the general's carriage, stopped it, recounted to him in a few words the events which had rendered his arrival too late, and even his journey a matter of suspicion, made him retrace his steps, and take the direction of Gray instead of B  fort, they themselves continuing their route to Paris. M. de Lafayette, thus stopped in sufficient time to prevent his presence even from being taken as an indication of his purpose, proceeded to the neighbourhood of Gray, to the house of M. Martin, formerly deputy from the Haute Sa  ne, and connected by ties of amity and political feeling with the general, who staid with him for some days under the appearance of a friendly visit.

XIX.

The mystery and the oaths of the Carbonari, the premature failure of the plot before its explosion, the confusion and rapidity of movements all in one evening, the nocturnal flight of the Carbonari, by the connivance of sub-lieutenant Manoury, the vigilance and rapidity of M. de Corcelles, Jun., in giving timely notice to M. de Lafayette, to make him change his route at the moment he was about to fall into the wreck of his plot, and the still warm blood of the commandant of the place, the disappearance of the carriage of one of the accomplices, containing the general's uniform, the colours, the tangible signs of

Punishment of the conspirators.

the revolution, which was seized at an inn in B  fort, sealed up by the police, then withdrawn by means of a bribe, and burnt during the night, to remove all material evidence of the attempt, —left nothing in the hands of justice, or political vengeance, but the shadow and the fading phantom of a conspiracy. The civil and military authorities knew not upon whom to lay their hands in the midst of this darkness, for nothing denounced what was known to all. The tragical death of a serjeant-major, named Watebled, who had fled with Adjutant Tellier into Switzerland, whither he was pursued by the gendarmes, alone gave some weight to the accusation. At the moment when the gendarmes knocked at the door of the public-house near B  le, in which Watebled had put up, he shot himself through the head, to avoid by death all temptations to betray his associates. Tellier was apprehended beside the dead body of his accomplice ; and in him they held the clue, by which they could ascend from man to man, up to the prime mover of the conspiracy. This clue, however, was broken before it could implicate M. de Lafayette, M. Manuel, M. de Corcelles, or the directors or hidden agents of the *Ventes* and secret societies of Paris. The researches and the penalties of the law only fell upon obscure names and subordinate culprits ; even these penalties were moderated by the insufficiency of proof, and by the lapse of time which blunted the edge of vengeance. Colonel Pailh  s, Tellier, and two or three of the most prominent conspirators, were alone condemned to a few years imprisonment, all the others were either absent or discharged. Justice, instead of ascending, stooped to the most insignificant instruments, as if it feared, in ascending too high, to find culprits whose names would have given too much popularity and too much dignity to the cause. These could, therefore, renew with impunity, in the shade, the series of civil and military conspiracies ; the members of which, cut off here and there during two years, left, as they perished, inviolable heads to the directing *Ventes* of Paris

Colonel Caron's plot.

XX.

Another plot, partly spontaneous and partly provoked by the cunning of instigators, that of Lieutenant Colonel Caron, arose a few days after out of the conspiracy of B  fort. Caron was one of those disbanded malcontents of the imperial army, who were impatiently waiting in the idleness of their homes until a military revolution should restore them to the rank, the fortune and the ascendancy which they had enjoyed in the camps of Napoleon, and the privation of which, by the general peace, seemed to them a deposition and an act of injustice on the part of fate. These upstarts of the battle-field, although the public treasure was exhausted in paying them the just indemnity for their blood, could not pardon the Bourbons for the forced reduction of the troops and the disarmament of France. Instruments always ready for the hand of civil factions, they offered themselves to every party, even to the republicans, to upraise again with their swords that freedom which they had beaten down for twenty years under the tyranny of military power, and of which they did not become the senseless and suspicious partisans until that freedom had proclaimed itself the enemy of the Bourbons. This officer was an assiduous visitor of Colonel Pailh  s, in the prison of Colmar, where he was detained while waiting to take his trial for the B  fort affair, and also of M. Buchez, who was then first broaching those republican doctrines and devotion which have since made him celebrated, through his constancy and moderation. Caron, who was desirous of re-connecting, with his own hand, the broken fragments of the B  fort conspiracy, but who had neither the prudence, nor the discretion, nor the temporisation of a real conspirator, occupied himself, with more noise than sagacity, in a plan of escape for his friends. In his eagerness to accomplish this design, and to attempt at Colmar a more fortunate explosion than that of B  fort, he allowed his plans to be easily seen through. The military police, who suspected them, resolved to bring them to maturity, and to lead them more quickly to a head, in order the more certainly to

.Its speedy miscarriage.

quash them. Instructions were accordingly given to some sub-officers who had been sounded by Caron, to affect the most absolute devotion to his cause ; and they, in pursuance of the orders they received, assured him of the concurrence of their comrades. The day was fixed between the colonel and his false accomplices to carry off a regiment of light-dragoons, and to bring the squadrons to a rendezvous at a quarter of a league from the town, where Caron was to be in waiting to assume the command, and to lead them through Alsace, in order to rouse to insurrection the towns, villages, and garrisons. The credulous officer suspected no snare in so complaisant and unanimous an insurrection, but repaired to the post indicated, armed and in regimentals. The squadron, prepared by its chiefs for this insurrectional comedy, mounted, and rode out of Colmar, at the hour appointed, with cries of "*Vive Napoleon II !*" met Caron, who harangued them and assumed the command : they followed him from village to village upon the route to Mulhouse, to discover his accomplices by thus instigating them to insurrection ; but no one having declared for them, they finished by arresting as a seducer to rebellion, the chief of his imaginary insurrection. He was brought back to Colmar disarmed, tied down upon a cart, amidst cries of "*Vive le Roi !*" and tried, though disbanded, before a court-martial at Strasburg. It was in vain that General Foy exclaimed, in the Chamber of Deputies, against a form of trial which deprives a citizen of his natural judges, and against a perfidious and cowardly provocation which devoted to death an unhappy culprit, for a crime purposely prepared to his hand. The colonel was condemned to death by the court-martial, and shot behind a bastion of the citadel ; while the officers and soldiers of the squadron who enticed him into the snare, received in rank, in promotion, and in gold, the price of blood and treachery !

XXI

Similar executions expiated, at Marseilles and Toulon, other abortive conspiracies of the military Carbonari. At Paris, a sub-officer of the 45th regiment, who had been presented to M. de Lafayette, agitated his regiment, and enlisted some

Mysteries of Carbonarism.

comrades for Carbonarism. These young men, who were proceeding to the garrison of Rochelle, received, before they quitted Paris, encouragement and instructions from the hidden chiefs of the insurrectional committee. Being apprised of an approaching movement, which was to break out at Saumur, and which they were directed to second, they had mysterious interviews on the road to Rochelle with an officer of artillery named Delon, who announced to them the adjournment of the plot. Being betrayed by one of their accomplices at the moment they were concerting with the emissaries of General Berton the capture of Saumur, they were arrested. Cards cut in two were found upon them, and poniards, signs of their enrolment in the *Vente*, which had been transmitted to them by Lareche, an agent of Lafayette's. By the confessions of some of them, their connection was traced up to the instigators of Paris. Sergeant Bories and Captain Massias, were convicted of having had intercourse with Lafayette himself, but they maintained a stoical silence as to its nature. The whole organisation of French civil and military Carbonarism finally appeared on the trial of M. Marchangy. The air was filled with conspiracies, with machines and instruments of plotting, but the committee which prompted and put them in motion, remained invisible, though evident to all. The intrepid Bories claimed for himself alone the crime and the punishment; sentence of death was pronounced by the judges against him, and against three of the sub-officers, the accomplices of his fault and participators in his silence. The four condemned lads whose enthusiasm, seduction and youth constituted their crime, embraced and consoled each other at the near approach of death, bade farewell to their families, and gave up their lives for freedom. The night, the torches, and the sobs of the spectators, increased the horror of this pitiful tragedy. The Tribunal gave judgment while surrounded, unknown to itself, by the accomplices of the four victims. Twelve thousand Carbonari from the *Ventes* of Paris swore to rescue the convicts from punishment, by ranging themselves behind the ranks of the gendarmes who were to line the streets, and each stabbing one of the executioners of the sentence. Others tried to corrupt, and to procure their escape

Execution of obscure plotters.

with money. The gaoler, desirous of providing for his family, while he himself fled with his prisoners, demanded seventy thousand francs for their ransom. This proposition being communicated to M. de Lafayette was acceded to by him. The Carbonari clubbed together, and the seventy thousand francs were carried to the gaoler, but the police being apprised of the transaction pounced upon the liberators at the moment they were counting out the money. The Carbonari of the capital then reverted to the plan of delivering them by open force; they agreed to group themselves in an irresistible mass in the approaches to the place of execution, to surround the carts, to cut the bonds of the prisoners, disperse the soldiers, and hide the four martyrs in the centre of the crowd, to disguise them under assumed characters, and to prepare and secure for them the means of flying out of France. Colonel Fabvier, formerly aide-de-camp to Marmont, the most persevering and adventurous of the military conspirators, directed these efforts at escape, and devoted himself to them in the most open manner. Bories and the companions of his sentence were conveyed to the Conciergerie, where they were shut up in separate dungeons, the gloomy witnesses of the civic agony of the Girondists. They conversed together aloud through the walls. One of them falling asleep, his neighbour in the adjoining dungeon awoke him, exclaiming: "You are in a hurry to go to sleep, but in two hours time shall we not all sleep together? Let us at least talk until then."

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XXII.

These two hours having elapsed, they mounted each one of the carts which were to convey them to the scaffold. An immense multitude crowded behind the lines of troops, in the streets, on the bridges, and on the squares, by which the procession had to pass. The condemned youths, buoyed up with secret hopes, cast their eyes upon the crowd, not doubting for a moment that it contained immense numbers of their accomplices, and that thousands of hearts were beating there with pity, indignation, and vengeance in their cause. At every

Revolutionary Ingredients.

movement of the multitude they expected to see thousands of arms stretched forth for their deliverance; but not one arose. Those innumerable Carbonari, of whom their execution was the condemnation and the sham, and who had vowed in the security of their meetings not to allow the death of the victims to be accomplished with impunity, had all vanished,—as it always happens to all isolated conspirators in the presence of individual danger; each reckoning on another, or distrusting his neighbour, shut himself up in his residence, or feigned indifference at the critical moment that called for self-devotion. These secret societies tamely endured, in impotence and cowardice, the rebound of the axe which severed the four heads of their young martyrs.

XXIII.

But their blood did not extinguish the flame of military conspiracy which was now fomented by the directing committee in the West, although the departments in the vicinity of La Vendée comprised that portion of France where the House of Bourbon had the greatest number of partisans amongst the people. It was there, also, that they had the most implacable enemies. Civil wars sow the seeds of enduring hatred amongst the population of a country. Though twenty years had rolled over the feuds of the *Bleus* and the *Blancs*, they had not effaced either its traces or its memory. It was there that philosophy and religion had struggled hand to hand, between a citizen class, aspiring to emancipate the national conscience, and a peasantry excited to madness in the name of their traditional and persecuted faith. It was there that the greatest number of emigrants, or victims of the scaffolds which followed the civil wars, had left the greatest mass of spoils and confiscations to be distributed amongst the purchasers of forfeited estates. These purchasers of national domains, torn from the church and the emigrants, constituted, especially in these departments, a class always uneasy about the preservation of riches so cheaply acquired, possessed with fear and trembling, and which they never expected to enjoy in security, so long as the

General Berton's conspiracy.

first of emigrants, the Bourbon family, should occupy the throne, and meditate a restitution to their partisans of those homes and possessions which they had lost by fidelity to their dynasty. Rennes, Brest, St. Briec, St. Malo, Angers, Saumur, and Nantes were above all the most important auxiliaries of the Paris *Ventes*. In no other part of France were the regiments quartered in the provinces more actively agitated by the civil Carbonari, and kept in a state of more permanent conspiracy by the central and directing *Ventes* of Paris. Already at the period of the intended rising at B fort, and of the journey of M. de Lafayette and his political accomplices into Alsace, a simultaneous movement had been concocted at Saumur, between Lieutenant Delon of the artillery, General Berton, and the insurrectional committee of Paris. This movement, stopped for a time by the miscarriage of that of B fort, still preserved all its elements of mischief; and the directing committee instigated it with the greater importunity to repair, by a brilliant victory, the defeat of its plans in Alsace and at Nantes. It embraced an immense extent of provinces, towns, and garrisons. General Berton had intrigued for, and snatched, rather than received, the command of it, from the political ringleaders of Paris. This committee, which distrusted not the ardour but the prudence of Berton, had preferred General Pajol to him; but Berton, forestalling the orders, had hurried off at first to Nantes, then to the neighbourhood of Saumur, and had succeeded in getting himself acknowledged as military chief by the numerous conspirators of the West. A council of action composed of thirty commissioners from the *Ventes* and secret societies of these departments, had assembled on the 17th February, at the house of a medical man named Caff , in the neighbourhood of Saumur; it had been unanimously agreed that Berton, dressed in a general's uniform, and escorted by all the members of the revolutionary associations, should appear on horseback upon the public square, on the market day, which would attract a crowd of peasants to Saumur; that he should summon to his side the cavalry school and a detachment of the 44th regiment, of which several officers, sub-officers, and private soldiers were initiated beforehand in

Commencement of his expedition.

the movement; that he should cause the castle to be occupied by the National Guard of Saumur, which was devoted almost unanimously to the common cause; that he should proclaim the deposition of the Bourbons and the reign of freedom; and that having formed an insurrectional column of the pupils of the cavalry school, the detachment of the 44th, and the volunteers from town and country, he should march rapidly upon Angers, to surprise that town and carry off the garrison. After this decision the council separated, having sub-delegated the executive details to a committee of ten members, more constantly in communication with General Berton, and more apt to modify, or to carry out the resolutions according to circumstances.

XXIV

But the council had hardly separated when the executive committee changed the plan, and decided that the little town of Thouars should be the starting post of the enterprise, and that the general, collecting around him at first the country conspirators, should march at their head upon Saumur, where the example of an insurrection already in arms would more certainly force open the gates, and more irresistibly gain over the troops. General Berton,—indifferent to the means, provided he could signalise his hatred against the Bourbons, and that he could avenge himself for the persecutions of which he said he was the victim, yielded to these injunctions of the executive committee,—repaired to Thouars,—was received there as a liberator,—concerted his plans with the commandant of the National Guard, already initiated in the plot,—fixed on the 24th February for the day of rising,—summoned to Thouars, at the hour agreed upon, the conspirators of the neighbouring villages and the deputies of distant committees,—put on his uniform,—mounted his horse,—ordered the tocsin to be rung,—displayed the tri-coloured flag,—arrested the royalist authorities,—addressed proclamations to the army and the people,—spread it abroad that a government composed of General Lafayette, General Foy, General Demarçay, Benjamin Constant, M. d'Argenson, and M. de Kératry, all popular names

Miscarriage of his enterprise.

in the West, was installed in Paris ; he then marched at the head of a few hundred men, dupes or fanatics, upon Saumur.

XXV.

This feeble column astonished, without raising the districts it marched through ; all appeared to shun it, and the good sense of the people prevented them from believing that a revolution accomplished at Paris could have occasion for a hundred or two of the National Guard of Thouars, to compel the town and garrison of Saumur to recognise it. Some gendarmes galloped off to that town through by-roads to give intelligence to the authorities ; and Berton, on arriving at the bridge over the Loire which runs beneath the ramparts of Saumur, found the passage barricaded, and a detachment of the cavalry school drawn up to oppose him. Berton began to parley, and lost the night in impotent conferences with the soldiers and citizens who defended the gates. Meanwhile, the commandant of the castle sent a detachment of infantry and a piece of cannon to strengthen the defence, and the *sous-prefet* ordered a charge to be made upon the bands of Berton, while the town remained neutral and motionless, in spite of the oaths so often taken by the conspirators. Berton, convinced of the miscarriage of the enterprise, gave the signal for retreat ; and his column dispersed amidst the darkness, vanishing like the phantom of a revolution which, having disturbed the dreams of the sleeping citizens, left no other traces on their awaking than fugitives, trials, and scaffolds.

XXVI.

Meanwhile Berton, astonished, but not discouraged by his defeat, had taken refuge, overwhelmed with shame and anger, in a secret asylum in the department of the *Deux-Sevres*. Delon, his evil genius and the indefatigable promoter of new plots, being acquainted with the place of his retreat, informed the general of the arrival at Rochelle of a regiment infected with seditious *Ventes*, and ready to lend its services to new

Berton's new conspiracy.

attempts at revolution. Conspirators, like emigrants, are subject to the credulity of enthusiasm, because they are afflicted with the delirium of impatience. Berton, however, had an additional motive to believe all, and attempt everything. Equally unfortunate as unskilful in his expedition from Thouars, his accomplices further accused him of cowardice, for having withdrawn his column without having fired or received a single shot. This reproach, the wicked calumny of vanquished men, who endeavour to excuse themselves by flinging accusations against their chief, was intolerable to Berton, who would gladly have restored his character even at the expense of his blood. It was in vain that the officers the most compromised with him in the fatal expedition to Saumur, and Delon himself, had privately embarked at Rochelle for the Spanish coast, Berton persisted in remaining, and renewing at all risks the *coup-de-main*, which the Carbonari of Paris and of the West demanded of him in revenge for Saumur. He accordingly watched for his opportunity concealed in the marshes of Rochefort.

The arrival at Saumur, of a regiment of Carbineers, which was described to him as a select corps secretly sold to the Carbonari; the solicitations of some chiefs of that sect from the environs of Saumur, who had just returned from Paris, where they had received the orders of Lafayette, and attended clandestine meetings at his house; the certain connivance of a quarter-master of the regiment of Carbineers, named Woelfeld, recommended to Berton by the friends of Lafayette himself, and some secret conferences of Berton with this sub-officer, who answered to him for his regiment;—had decided the general on hastening the movement.

A final meeting, to concert the plan and to fix the hour, had been appointed to take place in a hunting lodge in a forest on the borders of the Loire, between Berton, his principal accomplices, Woelfeld and some of his comrades, apparently engaged by him in the plot. Berton, with that credulous simplicity which had betrayed Colonel Caron into the most clumsy snares of the police, and which often characterises military conspirators, rushed with his eyes shut upon ruin. While the general, accompanied only by a country merchant, named

Is again defeated.

Baudrillet, was waiting in the hunting lodge without suspicion, for the arrival of the Carbonari chiefs from the country, who were to be present at the interview, the quarter-master arrived, followed by four sub-officers of his regiment, armed with sabres, pistols, and carbines; recognised the place, ascended to the room in which Berton, unarmed, was sitting with Baudrillet upon a camp bedstead, presented his comrades to the general, as men devoted to his enterprise, inspired the two conspirators with confidence, and drank with them to the success of the undertaking. Then suddenly changing his assumed character, he arrested them in the name of the King, kept them motionless under the muzzles of his comrades' carbines, descended himself into the court-yard of the solitary house, presented his own carbine towards the avenue, shot dead at his feet the first of the conspirators who rode up to the rendezvous assigned by Berton, made the others fly at the noise of the discharge, barricaded himself in the house while waiting the arrival of a detachment of carbineers, apprised beforehand of his stratagem and his prey, consigned Berton and Baudrillet to their charge, and brought them into the prison of Saumur, tied and half naked, with cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" and "Down with the Bonapartists!"

Berton bore his reverse with intrepidity. Baudrillet confessed that he had gone to Paris to receive the instructions of the directing committee, at the house of M. de Lafayette himself, and that this chief had said to Grandmenil, one of the witnesses of this interview, "Courage, my friend!" Being soon after reprimanded for this confession by one of his fellow captives, Baudrillet asserted that he did not know General Lafayette, but pretended that they had imposed upon him in Paris, by presenting him to a sort of representative of the general, a short fat young man, of a florid complexion and shaggy aspect, instead of the almost venerable appearance, lofty figure, pale features, white wig, and bending attitude, the real features of the then aged Lafayette. It was not, however, the object to look so high for culprits, government being afraid of rendering the scaffold too illustrious. The trial was long, harsh, and remarkable for the numbers of the accused. Berton

Execution of General Berton.

generously gave up his life undefended, to spare, as much as lay in his power, that of the victims of his temerity.

Six of the principal ringleaders of the movement were condemned to death; but the Duchess d'Angoulême being implored by the wives or mothers of the culprits, obtained the King's pardon for four of them. Berton and Dr. Caffé, who had long given him an asylum, and who had placed in his hands the clue to the conspiracy, were alone sacrificed as an example, with a view to the extinction of the Carbonari sect. The unfortunate doctor, who merited a better fate for his private qualities, and whose only crime was too ardent a love of liberty, prevented his execution by suicide. While the priest, who had been summoned to his bedside to exhort him to resignation and repentance, was fulfilling his pious mission, Caffé, covering his head all over with the counterpane of his bed, as if to conceal his tears, opened his veins, and silently allowed his life to ebb out with his blood. The death-rattle alone apprised the good father of the suicide of his penitent, and on lifting the counterpane he found nothing but the dead body

XXVII

Berton braved the scaffold, and died exclaiming, "Long live France and freedom!" After this, trials and executions continued to dismay and stain with blood, for several months, the eastern and western provinces of France, devouring obscure victims, while the chiefs of the *Ventes*, of the insurrectional committees, and of the central societies of Paris, shrouded themselves in mystery, and severed the clue of complicity which might otherwise ascend to them; audaciously defying all accusation, and indignantly spurning, from the tribune, suspicions which they ascribed wholly to calumny.

This hypocritical assumption of legality and innocence, which the principal members of these hidden conspiracies affected, in the face of the French government and of posterity, corrupted the conscience of liberal youth, and even the very source of liberty itself. Men who mask their principles, degrade themselves from the exercise of frankness, the most

Hypocrisy of the principal conspirators.

noble attribute of truth. The greater part of those who at that period mixed themselves up with these underhand machinations of hidden sects, contracted thereby habits of dissimulation, of submissive patriotism, of gloomy thought, of duplicity of opinion, of concealed audacity and public apostacy, which are the direct opposites of real civism. Liberty, which is a virtue, must be served by virtues and not by vices. Obscurity is a vice in the struggles of opinion. Those who would defend liberty, should have the courage to avow it, and the fortitude to die for it. M. de Lafayette, M. de Carcelles, jun., the chiefs and deputies of the Paris *Ventes*,—of whom history has now revealed the plots, under the veil of the Carbonarism, which they had imported from Naples and Madrid,—fruitlessly agitated their country, when they concealed the hand which stirred up the sectarians. They unwittingly depraved it also, by subjecting truth and virtue to darkness, to intrigue, and to the practice of falsehood and of crime; they hollowed out with their own hands those caverns, where more perverse and more radical conspirators were afterwards to bury and to hatch their plots against liberty itself; they made the framework, and recruited the camps of conspiracy, those crimes and baseness of free governments. They sometimes, and with reason, accused Jesuitism of dissimulation, of intrigue, and of falsehood, to change religion, the most sacred blessing of humanity, into a work of darkness, a conspiracy of the deity; and they themselves made of liberty a sect of zealots of humanity, a conspiracy of culprits, startled at their own thoughts as if they were criminal. This is not the way to serve either God or man. Monk and Marat concealed themselves, the one in his hypocrisy, the other in his cavern, the former to sell the liberty, and the latter the blood of his country. Sidney showed himself and died in open day for it, thus laying the foundation of his country's freedom. This is the true conspiracy, to speak and die for our right in the face of tyranny. All other is impotent or criminal; for instead of avowing, it dissembles, and instead of combatting, it buries itself. Liberty and public morals in France are still expiating, and will long expiate this error of M. de Lafayette, of the Bonapartists. and of the oppo

Inexcusable conduct of Lafayette.

sition liberals of that time. Amongst the young men, such as M. de Cortelles and his political accomplices, youth, relationship, inexperience, ardour, deference for the moral authority of more mature men, the glory of serving a popular and republican cause, under a chief whose name was identified with popularity and republicanism, until the day he forfeited both one and the other, by abjuring them before a usurper of the throne, all these might serve as an excuse for their error; but for a party-chief like Lafayette, grown old in the tests and the lessons of political science, these conspiracies were more than an error, they were a misconstruction of his cause, and a corruption of liberty

BOOK FORTIETH.

France in connection with the Spanish Revolution—New complications—Insurrection at Madrid—Victory of the popular party—*The Army of the Faith* in Catalonia and the Pyrenees—Perplexity of the French government—Louis XVIII. naturally but little inclined for intervention—Examination of the question under its different aspects, international rights, and the interest and dignity of the crown—Indecision of M. de Villele—Congress of Verona—MM. de Montmorency and De Chateaubriand: fluctuations of the latter—Foreign diplomatists: Lord Castlereagh, and MM. de Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo, Metternich, and Hardenberg—Conferences: the Congress almost unanimously decides on intervention—Internal divisions of the ministry on this subject—Retirement of M. de Montmorency—Opening of the Session of the Chambers: MM. Molé, Royer Collard, and Hyde de Neuville—Speech of M. de Chateaubriand—Speech of Manuel: stormy incident, expulsion of the orator—Protest of the Opposition—The intervention is decided on (1823.)

I.

WHATEVER may have been the errors of the government of the Restoration at this period, it is impossible for an impartial historian to dissemble the extreme dangers which Louis XVIII. and his ministers had to encounter, amidst the internal conspiracies, a few of which we have narrated, and with the example before them of Italy, Spain, and Piedmont, whence the contagion of military revolutions and secret societies had been propagated even through the army,—the last support of thrones. It was no longer the cause of the French Bourbons alone which was tottering, but that of all sovereigns and of all monarchies. It was more, it was the cause of all ancient establishments, which were sapped through all Southern Europe by new ideas and modern institutions. The North itself,—Germany, Prussia, and Russia—felt this passion for universal renovation penetrate

Spread of liberal principles.

every portion of its vast extent; teaching everywhere the new birth of ideas, the reformation of laws and public worship, the emancipation of peoples, and the active participation of the governed in the affairs of government. Whole nations, slumbering until then like Greece in servitude, began to shake their chains, and to communicate to the very confines of Asia the electric shock of popular commotion, and national regeneration. This was the work of seven years of peace and freedom of thought in France. The Bourbons had bestowed upon their country a free press and free parliamentary discussion, and this reign of peace and liberty of thought, reverberating from Paris and London, through Italy, Spain, and Greece, had not been tardy in igniting the revolutionary elements, accumulated and kept down for ages past in the capitals of those countries. By a natural rebound these revolutions, repressed at Turin and at Naples, fermenting and combatting in Greece, Moldavia, and Wallachia, triumphant and enraged in Spain, reacted as a terrible stimulus to emulation in France, upon its press, its tribune, its youth, and its army. The Constitution proclaimed at Cadiz, which left nothing of royalty in existence but the name, which surpassed in democracy the French Constitution of 1791, and which, in reality, was nothing more or less than a republic masked by a throne, dimmed the popularity even of the charter of Louis XVIII. and the mixed constitution of Great Britain. The liberal and revolutionary portion of France blushed for its timidity in the theories of modern government, in comparison with a nation like Spain, which at the very first step had attained a complete realization of the philosophy of 1789, even to religious liberty in the land of the Inquisition, the reclaiming of its soil from its sacerdotal power in a country of monastic feudality, and the dethronement of kings in a nation where absolute royalty was a dogma, and where kings constituted a religion. Every fresh instance of audacity of the Madrid revolution was applauded, and proposed for imitation to the army and the people of France. The most vehement speeches of the orators of the Cortes, the leading articles of the ultra-liberal journals of the Peninsula, the commotions, the insurrections, the anarchy of the Spanish revolution inflamed.

Moderate opinions of Louis XVIII.

with enthusiasm the liberal opposition of Paris : every victory of the radicals of Madrid over the priesthood, or the throne, was a triumph publicly celebrated by the revolutionists of France. Spain was verging on a republic, and a republic proclaimed on the other side of the Pyrenees would sweep away the throne of the Bourbons in France. Europe was slipping away from under its monarchies ; everyone felt this, and none more than the revolutionists of Paris themselves. How, therefore, could the Bourbons and their partisans fail to perceive it ? War was in fact declared between them and their enemies, and Spain was the field of battle. It was there that the Bourbons must stand or fall, and who can blame them for avoiding the latter alternative ?

II.

The King and his ministers were far from wishing to combat the Spanish revolution by an armed intervention. They had neither dared nor desired to do it at Naples and at Turin, and they much less desired or dared to do it at Madrid. Louis XVIII., a prince imbued during his youth with the reforming principles of 1789, hostile to aristocracies, refractory to the sacerdotal yoke, full of disdain for monarchical despotism, of horror for the Inquisition, and of doubt as to absolute power ; subsequently accustomed by his long residence in England to a system of representation, of freedom, and of public opinion, which relieves the monarch from a load of responsibility, and assists him to reign in accordance with the wants and the spirit of the people, by checking him in a false course and supporting him in a just one ; convinced, moreover, by the certain tact of his own intelligence, of the necessity of compounding with the age, and of relieving thrones from the decays of time, to render them more acceptable to the new-born race of man ; Louis XVIII. had seen with satisfaction the Bourbons of Naples and of Madrid either bestow upon their subjects, or accept from them representative institutions, analogous to his own Charter. He had been even flattered in his genius by these imitations of his wisdom ; and he would have

State of the Peninsula.

rejoiced to see all Europe representative, and constitutional monarchy take its rise from him. The title of the legislator of thrones was the only title of pacific glory to which at his age he could aspire. This title would magnify his memory in future times, through all the branches of his family, and all the liberal monarchies of which he might be the example and the patron. A system, which should conciliate, in him and his race, the royal majesty with republican liberty, had nothing in it that did not harmonise with his disposition, his birth, and his ideas. His wish, therefore, was not to stifle, but to moderate and counsel the Spanish revolution. He justly thought at the commencement that a constitutional monarchy, regular and progressive, established on the other side of the Pyrenees, under a Bourbon dynasty, would confirm, instead of shaking, the constitutional monarchy of his family in France. He had thought the same with respect to Naples and Turin; but Europe, led away by Austria, had coerced him at Troppau and at Laybach: it was not, however, from conviction, but from his isolated and feeble position, that he had tolerated, rather than acquiesced in the European intervention in Italy.

III.

But revolutions rarely moderate themselves before they have run the fatal round of exaggeration of principles, of illusions, and of violence, which constitute the law of these great displacements of things and ideas. In order that revolutions may be effected with innocence, equity, and moderation, it is essential that the peoples who accomplish them be already, and long before, prepared for that purpose by such an exercise of freedom and public opinion, as may have diffused great intelligence and great morality amongst the masses. Spain possessed none of these advantages when its revolution burst forth, much more like a military conspiracy than an evidence of the mature will of the nation. Its people, magnificently endowed by nature with heroism, intelligence and greatness of soul, was, however, the most backward of all Europe in its institutions. The struggle, at once national and religious,

Its revolutionary ingredients.

which it had to maintain against the Moors, to reconquer its territory and its independence, thus combining in one flame of enthusiasm its faith and its nationality, had left upon its character an impress of violence and superstition, in which the priest, the soldier, and the executioner, were mingled as it were in the same individual, and their respective qualities summed up together in the Inquisition. This inquisition, a perpetual *auto da fe*, suspended over conscience and liberty, and invented by the war of races to purge the soil, had indurated the character of the Spanish people. Cruelty, sanctified by religion, human victims burned for their belief by a slow fire at the stake, offered up as a spectacle and a holocaust to heaven and to men, had stifled all feeling of humanity in this nation. It had, still further, hermetically sealed up Spain against every ray of intelligence and liberty from the rest of Europe; science and civilization were only known there as words of evil; philosophy hid itself there as a mystery, and brooded as a vengeance; its manners were depraved; its monks reviving the middle ages, in one place possessors of all its wealth, in another sanctifying mendicity; the court itself was only absolute over the people in virtue of its subjection to the priesthood. The sacerdotal police had the power of citing even the conscience of its kings, and did not withhold its hand before the sovereign pontiff himself. Egyptian in its institutions, African in its character, and Italian in its manners; such was Spain when the invasion of Napoleon forced its gates with an armed hand, and awoke in this great but slumbering people the heroism of independence, and the bitterness of vengeance against the foreigner who was doing violence to its nationality

IV

Such were the elements of an internal revolution in Spain, when the necessities of the public defence during the interregnum assembled the Cortes at Cadiz, and when the nation, availing itself of its re-conquered independence, wished to repay itself for its sacrifices by obtaining its recognition from the King, to whom it had restored his crown. The people were

Critical position of Ferdinand.

agitated without being enlightened, the army in a state of insurrection without strength, the King conquered but not chained, the church threatened without being rooted from the hearts of the people, and the monks despoiled without being destroyed. There was in such a state of things all the ingredients of anarchy and of long civil wars to be waded through, before the nation could arrive at one of those regular transactions that determine a revolution. These ingredients, as we have recounted in the preceding volume, had produced their natural consequences. The constitution of the Cortes had proved from its installation nothing but a legal arena, open to all the conspiracies of the party of the King and of the Church, and to all the seditions of the radical, or demagogue party. A republic openly proclaimed might have produced as many political storms, but certainly less violence than this perpetual and intestine conflict between a degraded royalty, which could not endure its debasement without resistance, and liberty always threatened which could only defend itself by oppression. This was the besetting sin of 1791 renewed in Spain; a King without the attributes of a monarchy, and a sovereign assembly without the attributes of a republic. Ferdinand VII., equally unfortunate as Louis XVI., but less virtuous, was progressing like him, from crisis to crisis, to captivity, and to the scaffold. This resemblance in the destiny of the two monarchs and the two countries, alarmed Europe. Every prince felt himself outraged upon his throne by the outrages which the revolution heaped upon Ferdinand, constantly threatened by the sword suspended over his head. He was no longer merely the King of the Spaniards, he was the prototype of royalty, the client of all crowned heads: to abandon him to his fate would be the self-abandonment of kings themselves. After the examples of Charles I. in England, and Louis XVI. in France, the unpunished trial and execution of a king by his people at Madrid must, among the European nations, have invested revolutions and peoples, with a public right, that would make of thrones a mere stepping-stone to the scaffold.

It could not be concealed that Spain was at this moment hastening on to this crisis

Outbreak of the revolution.

V.

On the 7th July, the people of Madrid were besieging the royal guards even in the courts of the palace. The blood which had been shed of the King's defenders had been avenged by that of some of the National Guard, fomenters of the disturbance. The soldiers of the guard had even massacred a young officer, named Landaburu, who had endeavoured to restrain their fury. The dead body of Landaburu, who was known to the people by his popular opinions, had been, as it were, the standard of a more unanimous sedition. Even the army itself, led away by the National Guard, or by the excited multitude, had surrounded the palace, and summoned the guard to disperse. The King, who thought himself sure of the assistance of other corps cantoned in the vicinity of the capital, resisted the disarming and the disbanding of his guards. A hollow truce was then agreed upon for some hours between the parties. The people retired to a distance from the palace, in which Ferdinand shut himself up with his six most devoted battalions, the remainder of his guards being encamped outside the city. In this mutually threatening attitude of the King and his subjects, a negotiation was opened between Ferdinand and the Cortes for some pacific modifications in the constitution, to satisfy the principal grievances of royalty.

These might have been accepted by the King, but news of the rising of some regiments which were advancing upon Madrid to avenge his cause, confirmed him in his resistance, and he demanded to be restored to almost absolute power. This raised the fury of the people to madness. The battalions of the guard encamped outside the walls joined their forces, and marched during the darkness in three columns towards the Square of the Constitution, to form a junction with the battalions which were barricaded in the palace, and to carry off the King, or reduce the city. The National Guard and the people, at first astonished, rallied, overwhelmed the royalist columns with volleys of grape-shot in the narrow streets, and drove them back vanquished into the country. The King

The Army of the Faith.

being forced in the retirement of his palace, affected to think he was delivered by the people from the coercion of his guards; he clapped his hands in his balcony at his own defeat, and signed, under a more real coercion, an order for the apprehension of his defenders. Executions sanction sedition. The troops fluctuated between the parties, in a state of indecision; demagogue clubs reigned in the towns in the place of the laws; the priests raised the country in insurrection, in the name of religion and the King. Bands were formed, which became the *Armies of the Faith*: they instituted a wandering regency, which excited the provinces, forbade all obedience to the captive monarch, and to the reprobate constitution; then established itself amongst the mountains branching from the Pyrenees, levied troops and taxes, and pushed forward its liberating columns to the very gates of Madrid.

These royalist and Catholic insurrections made of Catalonia and Biscay a second Vendée; but the combats there were assassinations, the soldiers executioners, and the casualties of legitimate warfare were responded to by murder and conflagration. Providence added to this scourge of Spain a pestilential malady, which decimated Barcelona and the other towns on the coast. The civil war threw the power at Madrid into the hands of the ultra-revolutionists; with one hand they held the King in bondage, and triumphed over the royalist insurrection with the other. The regency, with the wreck of the *Army of the Faith*, took refuge in France, as at another Coblenz, from whence they agitated their country, recruited their forces, and armed themselves to invade it afresh.

The French government, being compelled by its Chambers to an apparent neutrality, formed an army of observation in the Pyrenees, under the pretext of defending the frontiers from the invasion of the yellow fever. The French liberals were indignant at this measure, which concealed, according to their orators, a hostile intention under the mask of prudence. The tribune resounded with the accusations of Benjamin Constant, of Manuel, of Casimir Perier, and of General Foy, against the hidden complicity of the government with the *Army of the Faith*. The church and the royalist parties, on

The congress of Verona.

the contrary, murmured against the timid inaction of the King, who contemplated, without daring to declare himself, the deposition of a prince of his house, the dissolution of the monarchy, and the profanation of the religion of his forefathers. in a kingdom torn by the same factions that had immolated his brother. The northern powers, for a moment undecided at the conferences of Troppau and of Laybach, and who seemed to be awaiting some new excesses in Spain to give them a more evident right of intervention in this crisis of monarchies, convoked France to the congress of Verona, where the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, and the ambassadors of France, were to meet and deliberate in concert on the propriety of war or neutrality in the affairs of the Peninsula.

Such was the situation of Spain, of France, and of Europe, at the moment when M. de Villèle was called upon to declare his policy, through his plenipotentiaries, at this congress. No minister was ever summoned by the pressure of circumstances to form a resolution more urgent, more decisive, and more irrevocable, between two extremes of nearly equal danger to a constitutional monarchy. M. de Villèle possessed intelligence sufficiently vast and sufficiently lucid to solve this problem; but had he freedom and firmness enough to bring it to a just termination? This the result will show.

VI.

On the one hand, the unprovoked intervention of France in the internal crisis of Spain, was a violation of the principles of public right and natural equity, under which reposes the inviolability of nations. It was to exhibit itself, as it were, the day after the great intervention of Europe in France, an example of the violation of that free-will of nations which had, with so much justice, been claimed for France at the congress of Vienna; it was to abandon the nature of all institutions, and the modification, or destruction of the governments of every independent portion of Europe, to the arbitration and pressure of some unknown, collective, and extra-national sove-

Arguments against intervention.

reignty, established in a council of sovereign powers, promulgating its wishes in a congress, and enforcing them with arms. This public right being once recognised, the individuality of nations would be at an end, their free-will cease to exist, their own government would no longer belong to them, their reforms or their progress would be stopped by the protocol of foreign courts; a Russian, a Prussian, or an Austrian, would decide on the amount of liberty or servitude that might suit an Italian, a Spaniard, or a Frenchman, and *vice-versa*. Government would no longer be national, it would be European, and uniform with the average description of government which these congresses might determine by a majority of votes. Nations would no longer be nations, but colonies governed by viceroys, at the will and discretion of the holy alliance. Independent Europe would cease and determine, and universal monarchy be vested in a perpetual congress. Such a transformation might well make royalty itself tremble in France.

In another point of view, to intervene in Spain against a constitutional revolution would be for revolutionary and constitutional France to give to the world, and, above all, to herself, a striking contradiction of her own revolution and constitution. It would be to unmask in the Restoration the antagonism of which it was suspected to popular liberty, and to those institutions which it had been compelled itself to proclaim; it would be to declare open war against the liberal and constitutional party, powerful in its chamber, in its elections, in its press, in its army, and to devote itself to the accusations, the incriminations, and, perhaps, to the incessant seditions of domestic factions which would be thrown into the most desperate opposition; it would be to risk the suspicious fidelity of the army on the turn of a die, and to expose itself to the enmity of England, whose parliament would not permit that country to participate in an anti-liberal crusade; it would be to give up its alliance with England, the guarantee to France of the European balance of power, for an Austro-Russian alliance, which had nothing to offer to the Bourbons but the office of executing its despotic decrees in the south of Europe; finally, it would be to impose an additional burthen upon France, as

Intervention become necessary.

yet scarcely relieved from taxes, subsidies, conscriptions, blockade of ports and cessation of commerce and exportation, the fertile causes of murmurs and disaffection against the Bourbons, to undertake upon a strange, ill-explored, and devouring soil, a war which might become national again, and renew the disgrace and disasters of Napoleon's Spanish war of 1810.

This is what M. de Villèle said to himself, on considering the national, liberal, and administrative side of the question.

VII

But, on a consideration of its monarchical side, the vital and present interest of the Restoration, the existence even of the house of Bourbon on the throne, the consolidation of the dynasty to which he was devoted, the internal and parliamentary policy, the King's dignity, the popularity of the princes, the union still to be cemented between the army and the crown, strangers, so to speak, to each other until then, and which nothing but the most powerful agency could ever indissolubly unite, M. de Villèle answered his own objections by a reason which overturned all scruples of public and constitutional right,—the necessity for a Restoration of the house of Bourbon in France to act, or to perish in face of the revolution which was rising as its mortal foe in Spain, and which, from Madrid, would inevitably dethrone it even in the Tuileries. It was life or death with the Restoration. Before a question thus propounded by the concurrence of circumstances, there could be no further deliberation; it was necessary to act, or to acknowledge a defeat before the combat.

The Restoration was recent, contested, badly consolidated in France; once before overturned by a breath from Napoleon in 1815, it was fain to be a second time brought back, and shored up, by Europe, to naturalize itself in Paris. The party which attacked the Bourbon monarchy at Madrid was the same which had harassed with opposition, with machinations and conspiracies, the house of Bourbon in France. The secret Carbonari societies of the two countries formed only one and the same hidden army, undermining, at the same time, the

On grounds of State policy.

two thrones and the two families. The language of both factions in their journals and in their tribunes, the reciprocal propagandism, the mutual encouragement, the emigration of condemned Frenchmen into the most revolutionary towns of the Spanish frontier, their presence in the ranks of the ultras of the clubs, or of the army, their incitements to the overthrow of Ferdinand, their confident promises of the concurrence of the revolutionary party in France, their manifestos drawn up and published at Madrid, at Barcelona, Saragossa, and Vittoria, against the throne and the dynasty of the Bourbons in both countries, did not allow the King's government to deceive itself on the subject, or to affect even to separate the two causes. To give way, to temporise, or to recoil before the ultras of Madrid, was to exhibit the same weakness before the factions in France. The parties hostile to the Restoration would not be satisfied with this triumph; sooner or later they would have completed it, by exciting the army and the people to insurrection against a dynasty vanquished at Madrid by open force, and at Paris by its own weakness. The Bourbon monarchy of France might calculate beforehand the allotted termination of its reign, by the audacity and excesses of the Spanish revolution at Madrid. Would it not, therefore, be better for the house of Bourbon to venture in its turn on an act of vigour, of temerity even, and in which it had, at least, a chance of succeeding, than to succumb inevitably under the timidity, the indecision, and the scruples of its councils? Heroism, as well as good sense, answered this question in the affirmative; and this was not merely the selfishness of dynasty, it was also true patriotism. For, within so short a period of a double invasion, which had decimated, enervated, and threatened to rend the country asunder, when Bonapartism, in reality extinguished with Napoleon, was nothing more than a phantom, capable of troubling, but powerless to repossess the nation; when the family usurpation of the Duke d'Orleans was, as yet, nothing more than the dream of some court malcontents, without any real hold upon the popular masses, and consequently without any external force; when the republic, too recent in its sanguinary souvenirs of 1793, was only the hypothesis of a few theorists,

Danger to the fidelity of the army.

without adherents, too forward in their hopes, or too backward in their memories, was it not evident to every impartial statesman that the house of Bourbon was at once the only safeguard for France, temporary at least, against internal anarchy, against foreign invasion, and against the dissolution and partition of the country? Therefore, to preserve the dynasty from an impending catastrophe, was it not, also, to save the country? The fidelity of the army, it was said, would be risked in forcing it to combat against the independence, and against the revolutionary institutions of Spain. This danger was possible; but would it not be risked much more every day in leaving it exposed, in idleness and inaction, during the unpunished triumph of an insurgent militia at Cadiz, to the propagandism and the machinations of the French Carbonari, who seduced the regiments into armed *foci* of conspiracy against the monarchy? Was there not a thousand times less peril in exciting the French army, weary of inaction and eager for change, for promotion, and for glory, than to leave it exposed to corruption, in a state of idleness of which the enemies of the Restoration would make it ashamed? And the most certain means of snatching it from the factious, and attaching it to the new dynasty, would it not be to lead it to action under its new princes, and for a cause which would become the cause of the soldier himself when he had once shed his blood in it?

As to the question of public right of intervention or non-intervention, debated by the publicists of the liberal opposition, in the tribune and in the journals, admitting they were right in general theory, and under a regular and long constituted posture of European politics, it may be asked if these scruples were either seasonable or well-founded in a state of affairs still so crude and wavering, when the public right of Europe had been overturned by the wars of the republic and of the Empire, and by the two invasions of France? Had the French revolution ever proclaimed or carried out with voice and sword any other doctrine than that universal armed propagandism of freedom amongst enslaved peoples? Its first steps in Belgium, with Dumouriez—in Germany, with Custine—in Savoy and Nice, with Montesquiou—in Holland, with Pichegru—in Ire-

General system of intervention.

land, with Hoche, and in Italy and Egypt, with Bonaparte—what were they but interventions, not only on the territories, but in the internal government of the states, violated and conquered by our doctrines as well as by our arms? Were the wars and conquests of the Empire—now incessantly offered as an example to the emulation of our soldiers, by the adorers of that regime at present transformed into a system of jurists so scrupulous about the inviolability of revolutions,—were they anything else than a universal and incessant intervention of Napoleon, of his dynasty, of his armies, and of his family policy, at Venice, at Rome, at Naples, at Turin, at Genoa, at Berlin, at Vienna, at Madrid, at Moscow, and in all places where the interests of his glory, of his ambition, or of his brothers, had overturned or established thrones? Were not the two invasions, which flowed back upon us from all the nationalities roused into action against the interventions of this dominator of the world, a general intervention in its turn of Europe, called for by its common safety, and by the necessity of re-establishing its own independence, by overturning that imperial throne which threatened the continent with universal monarchy? What were the treaties of Vienna, which had recomposed and modified, here and there, all Europe, made a new distribution of territories, given to each its allotted number of inhabitants, and elevated or effaced minor powers by annexing them to great states,—what were they but an intervention of all Europe with itself, to reform and re-establish itself on ancient and modern bases, at its own sovereign discretion, and in the name of the public safety of Europe? Were these bases, scarcely five years old, so completely cemented and immovable, that Europe could justly be interdicted from again intervening, to guarantee and consolidate them if they were still wavering, and threatening the continental system with a general shock of thrones and empires? It was evident that the soil of Europe, which had been shaken by so many commotions, invasions, and wars by Napoleon, was not sufficiently knit together to allow those governments whose armies were not yet disbanded, and fresh from the treaties of 1815, to divest themselves so speedily

Inconsistency of politicians.

of all interest in their own work, to abdicate the right of consolidating the states they had scarcely established, and to turn away with indifference their looks and hands from events which threatened the equilibrium and the stability of their labours.

Finally, those liberals and Bonapartists of the opposition and the press, who pretended to interdict the house of Bourbon, interested as it was by blood, by alliance, and even by eventual inheritance of the throne, in the safety of a Bourbon, and the maintenance of monarchical government in Spain, from intervening against revolution and anarchy in the Peninsula, were they not the same, who, by a notorious contradiction, incessantly upbraided the house of Bourbon for not intervening quickly and generously enough in Greece, to rend asunder with an armed hand the Ottoman territory, and to snatch an oppressed people from its masters and oppressors? How could that which was legitimate and sacred in Greece in behalf of revolution, become illegitimate and sacrilegious in Spain against revolutionary anarchy? Did not the difference of the causes constitute all the difference of the doctrines? And did not intervention appear culpable in one place, and meritorious in another, solely because it served their principle in Greece, while in Spain it threatened their faction? It was not, therefore, the intervention *per se* which was reproved by these publicists, but the cause for which the Restoration was desirous of intervening.

Another more personal motive naturally presented itself to the mind of M. de Villèle, and causing him to fluctuate from one resolution to another, augmented his perplexity. He had only succeeded to the ministry of the Duke de Richelieu, in virtue of being a minister more boldly monarchical, more agreeable to the royalist majorities in the Chambers, more devoted to the party of the Count d'Artois, and more associated with the interests and opinions of that ultra-catholic party which was identified in both Assemblies, and in the palace with the ultra-monarchical party that possessed the favour of the King's brother, through M. de Montmorency, that of the Duchess d'Angoulême through MM. de Clermont-Tonnerre,

Indecision of M. de Villèle.

and Peyronnet, and which was insinuating itself into the ear and the heart of the King himself, through Madame du Cayla. This party was anxious for the intervention on two grounds : as the royalist party indignant at the debasement of the throne in Spain, and as a religious party upholding with its vows and wishes in the Peninsula ecclesiastical influence, the possessions of the church, the wealth of the bishops, and its monastic institutions. Were M. de Villèle to refuse to these two parties the intervention in Spain, he would belie all the hopes that were fixed on him ; his conduct would be a resumption of the half-measure policy of M. Decazes, of M. de Richelieu, and of M. Pasquier ; it would be devoting himself without remedy, in the Court and in the Chambers, on the one hand, to the anger of the liberal and revolutionary opposition, which he would have to combat within doors, and on the other hand, to the reproaches, invectives, and disgust of the royalist majority and the clerical party, who would only recognise in him a deserter from their ranks, who had ascended to power through their favour, that he might there betray from the greater eminence their passions and his own promises. What duration could a minister expect who thus placed himself in the interim between two opinions, the one hostile by nature, the other implacable from resentment. It was absolutely necessary for him to declare himself between these two reasons, almost equally decisive, for or against the Spanish intervention. The session of the Chambers was about to commence, the foreign courts were pressing, the parties were importunate, the Count d'Artois was exclaiming against the state of indecision, and the King was repugnant, without, however, restricting the determination of his ministers. But M. de Villèle did not declare himself. More accessible from the nature of his administrative and parliamentary intelligence, to the petty considerations than to the luminous ideas of the statesman, which pass over the difficulties of detail to arrive at a more extensive view and more general results, he deferred, with the greatest procrastination, the adoption of a resolution, hoping always that events would not imperatively summon him to cross this Rubicon of his temporising diplomacy ; and that Spain, better advised by England and France, would herself modify

Ultraism of M. de Montmorency.

her anarchical constitution, restore to the King the liberty and constitutional dignity of his crown, and thus furnish France with a pretext for declining a war of principles, of which he equally dreaded for his country the efforts, the excitement, and the reverses.

Such was the indecision of M. de Villèle, and of the King himself, at the moment when the approaching congress of sovereigns at Verona required France to have an opinion of her own, or patiently to endure the impulse of Europe

VIII.

The King's infirmities prevented him from personally attending this meeting of the sovereigns ; his title of a constitutional and irresponsible monarch equally forbidding him to negotiate himself. M. de Montmorency, minister of foreign affairs, was summoned by his name, and by his functions, as well as by the confidence of the Church and Court party, to represent France at the congress. M. de Villèle dreaded the religious and monarchical bias of his colleague, though he had the most perfect confidence in the probity and fidelity of his character. But M. de Montmorency, an open-hearted child of impulse, connected with the monarchical cause by ties of honour, and of faith with the cause of religion, of intercourse with the members of the congregation, and of gratitude and devotion with the Count d'Artois, made no secret of his opinion that the restoration of monarchy in Spain, by the hand of France, was, in his eyes, the logic and the greatness, as it was the necessity of the Restoration. He saw in the Spanish revolution an anarchical and sanguinary imitation of the French revolution of 1793 ; the scaffold of Ferdinand VII. seemed to him to be already erected in the fatal tendency of events at Madrid. To snatch a King from the axe of his executioners, and replace him upon his throne by the hand of a nephew of Louis XVI., in command of a French army, appeared to him at once a generous expiation for the blood of that monarch by France, and a restoration of the kingly principle by the magnanimity and the heroism of a Bourbon, more glorious and

M. de Chateaubriand as a statesman.

more solid than the Restoration by Europe. M. de Chateaubriand, until then the friend of M. de Montmorency, who had at all times been his admirer, his protector and his patron, had by his writing and his language, confirmed M. de Montmorency in his natural impulse with respect to Spain. The pages of the *Conservateur*, a journal of religious sentiments and royalist passions, made illustrious by the genius of M. de Chateaubriand, burst forth in that heroic style which reproached the Bourbons for their timidity in maintaining their right, and incited them to dare to aspire to glory. The toscin of a chivalrous and political intervention in Spain had resounded in its columns ever since the revolution of Cadiz. It must, therefore, have been naturally concluded that the royalist and religious writer, having embarked in politics, through the embassy to London which he then filled, would be the most ardent negociator of the expedition destined to upraise again the throne and the church, in the country which he had represented in his writings as the last asylum of monarchy, of heroism, and of christianity. M. de Chateaubriand, in fact, preserved these impressions in his heart. His political genius was sometimes led astray, by seeking after literary popularity, the false image of glory; but it was vast, sound, and enlightened rather than dazzled by his splendid imagination; it rose high, and it soared above men and events by the sole elevation of his talent. Contrary to those literary men who frequently display their superiority in their style, and their inferiority in their acts, M. de Chateaubriand's politics were more just than his imagination. He saw far and he saw correctly; and when he did go astray it was through passion and not from error. His faults, so fatal to the monarchy, which we shall presently have to notice, were not faults of intellect, but of character and of public virtue. Resembling Mirabeau in this, that his weakness vitiated his conduct, but never his good sense

IX.

Time and circumstances, ambition which grows with age, and contact with men, had greatly modified his opinions since,

His embassy to London.

1815 and 1816. The part of the Tyrtæus of the counter-revolution, which he had affected since the return of the Bourbons to France, his invectives against Napoleon, his hyperbolic flattery of the Church, the emigration and the old regime, his ostentatious worship of the old throne and the old sanctuary, his unhappy encouragement of a royal reign of terror, of Draconian laws against the adversaries of the Restoration, his calls for proscription, his wishes and his votes for the penalty of death applicable to offences of thought and to crimes of political opinion, now weighed heavily on his career, and he would gladly have effaced them from his own memory as well as from that of his cotemporaries; he might, however, redeem them by one of those returns to reason, to moderation, and to justice which are always accepted by parties when great talent imparts a high value to these conversions of genius. Already, under the ministry of M. Decazes, the necessity of preventing himself from being coerced by the censorship, and by the arbitrary restraint imposed upon royalist thoughts, had made him adopt and defend with ardour the liberty of the press and the constitutional guarantees. He had become a liberal in defiance of the liberals. Excluded from the title and functions of a minister of state by an exercise of royal disfavour, for having vented imprecations in the name of the royalists against the ordinance of the 5th September; resentment had thrown him still deeper into opposition. The ministry of M. de Richelieu had indemnified and re-conquered him by the embassy to London, and by all the favours which load those high functions with honours and fortune. His splendid residence at London, his political and social intercourse with the statesmen of England, his interchange of admiration and amity with the most eloquent and most literary of the orators of Great Britain, Mr. Canning, who had, like himself, begun his career by hymns to the counter-revolution, by poetical diatribes against Jacobinism, by the policy of Burke and Pitt, and ended by professions of European faith in the potency of the revolution, and by the liberalism of Fox and Sheridan; finally, distance, which makes even passion impartial, and which, by liberating man from his ties of party, of

His connection with M. de Villèle.

faction, and of society, enables him to see over the heads of his friends and his enemies, the real current of his age and of the human mind; all these things had transformed M. de Chateaubriand into a new man. He was too strongly imbued with a sense of consistency, and had too personal a regard for his own glory, to desert the post he had chosen at the head of the chivalrous defenders of the church, the throne, and the Bourbons; he would not give anyone the right to reproach him with defection or apostacy; only, that while he still defended the same parties, he wished to defend them with different weapons. He pretended to borrow from liberty, its doctrines and its flag, to give victory to the cause of the Restoration. His own glory, the perpetual object of his solicitude, was interested herein, as well as his political fortune. He saw that the world was springing towards liberty, and that those who were clinging to old relics, being speedily abandoned by the present and the future, would remain upon the slime of the past, like the remnants to which they attached themselves, in the rear of time, of posterity and of fame. M. de Chateaubriand had adopted the Restoration for the novelties it promised to his imagination, rather than for the vestiges of decay it brought in its train. In attaching himself to it he wished to draw it towards him for the purpose of regeneration.

X.

His relations with M. de Villèle, while they governed the ultra-royalist party together, the one by tactics, the other with the pen, had convinced him of the sagacity and aptitude of a man who was still immersed in the obscurity of parliamentary meetings. M. de Villèle, a person of retiring habits, without brilliant talents, and with no pretensions to literary fame, had nothing in him that could give umbrage to the more ambitious splendour of M. de Chateaubriand. It cost the writer little, therefore, to exhibit some deference for the man of business; and M. de Villèle, on his side, without rivalry of popularity or style with the prominent genius of his party, gladly borrowed from the great writer and the favourite of aristocracies, theo-

His wish to attend the congress.

cracies, and courts, the radiance of fame, of enthusiasm, and of superior talent with which M. de Chateaubriand illumined and dignified the royalist party. It was to please M. de Villèle and his party in the chamber, that the embassy to London had been conferred upon M. de Chateaubriand. These two men having embarked on the same day in public affairs, the one at the council board, without a portfolio, the other in the diplomatic line, reserved themselves, without doubt, to assist each other to ascend still higher together, and to accomplish their views by mutual aid in a ministry entirely royalist, when time should have used up the intervening ministries, and when the majority should have conquered the repugnance of the King. They had kept up a close correspondence during the reign of the last ministry, and the triumph of M. de Villèle had been at the same time the triumph of M. de Chateaubriand. As soon as the congress of Verona was officially announced to Europe, M. de Chateaubriand did not conceal from his friend, now become the centre and chief of the government, his anxious wish to represent France at that Assembly of the sovereigns and diplomatists of the continent. M. de Villèle accordingly hastened to recall M. de Chateaubriand to Paris, and to propose him to the King as one of the plenipotentiaries who were to accompany M. de Montmorency to this council of kings. In asking this favour for the illustrious writer who represented France at the court of St. James's, M. de Villèle was influenced by some private and personal motives. He gave a proof of fidelity to the political friend with whom he had combatted in the ranks of royalist opposition, thus satisfying friendship. He provided himself in the congress with an observer and interpreter of his own, who would serve as a counterpoise to the too independent, too aristocratic, and too chivalrous policy of M. de Montmorency. Finally, he prepared a colleague for himself, for the department of Foreign Affairs, by thus initiating M. de Chateaubriand in great diplomatic transactions, by presenting him in the King's name to the allied sovereigns, whose pride he would flatter, and whose personal confidence he would gain; and if necessity should demand the removal of M. de Montmorency, who was dear to

His dissimulation and manœuvring.

the royalists, M. de Villèle would give them in the person of M. de Chateaubriand, a name under which they could not murmur, and a glory they would be compelled to submit to. M. de Montmorency, being himself a still older friend of M. de Chateaubriand, and who did not suspect a rival in ambition, and a substitute in the ministry, in the plenipotentiary accredited with him to Verona, as if to add greater lustre to his mission, received him without umbrage.

XI.

But at this period of his life, M. de Chateaubriand had at bottom more ambition than scruples of gratitude towards M. de Montmorency, or even towards M. de Villèle. His conduct in this transaction, and the narrative he has himself given of the secret workings of his mind in soliciting and accomplishing his mission to the Congress of Verona, prove that he dissembled his real thoughts with both one and the other. He was desirous of intervention for the high state reasons which his genius revealed to him, and which, in our opinion, could not suffer any hesitation in a firm and lucid mind devoted to the establishment of the Restoration. But he learned from the private correspondence of M. de Villèle with him, that this minister was fluctuating irresolutely in his thoughts on the part which France should take in this crisis; and that he was averse, at bottom, to an enterprise too hazardous for his courage or his intellect. M. de Chateaubriand, in his replies and verbal intercourse, adroitly encouraging this mental timidity of the prime minister, not only concealed from him his ardent tendency to engage France in the intervention, but he even pretended to dread as much as himself some rash engagements of French policy in the European resolutions of the congress, and thus led M. de Villèle to expect that he would counteract the impulse of the northern sovereigns towards war, instead of urging it onward, as he secretly intended.

On the other hand, M. de Chateaubriand, who wished for intervention as much as M. de Montmorency himself, intended to snatch from this minister, his friend, the honour of deciding

Distinguished men at the congress.

the war question at the congress, and after the congress the glory of directing and accomplishing it. This duplicity of M. de Chateaubriand towards the two men with whom he had associated himself, to impose upon the one, and to remove the other, evinced more ambition than delicacy or elevation of mind. It gave the triumph to the war party at the congress, and it overturned M. de Montmorency to raise M. de Chateaubriand to the ministry; but this triumph soon obtained for him the distrust of an upright colleague in M. de Villèle, and a coldness in the friendship of a man of honour in M. de Montmorency.

M. de la Ferronnays, formerly aide-de-camp to the Duke de Berry, and ambassador of France at the Russian court, also accompanied the Emperor Alexander to Verona. He had pleased that prince by the frank and loyal manners of a soldier, who negotiates with an open heart, and whose skill consists in mental probity. This young minister, whom some roughness of the Duke de Berry,—though redeemed by subsequent deference,—had banished from the court, was one of those worthy men whom the emigration had still left French, though it kept them faithful to their prince, and who did not find themselves out of their element on returning to the camps, the society, or the public service of their country.

Two young diplomatists of high rank and great aptitude, M. de Gabriac, and the Duke de Rauzan, son-in-law to the Duchess of Duras, were appointed by the King to accompany his plenipotentiaries from Paris to the congress, and to increase the strength and dignity of their diplomacy. The Count de Caraman, ambassador at Vienna, an influential minister, from his long intercourse with Prince Metternich, the real dictator of European policy; M. de Rayneval, minister at Berlin, at once the most trustworthy and the most gracious of our envoys; finally, M. de Serres, the most celebrated orator of the royalist party, who had been sent away to Naples to remove him from the tribune, were invited to Verona. Monarchical France was thus represented before the kings by high functionaries, who were all men of honour, of fame, and of diversified genius.

Suicide of Lord Castlereagh.

XII.

The representatives of the European diplomacy were no less the most distinguished statesmen of the several courts. England was about to send thither its prime minister, Lord Castlereagh, the political successor,—less popular, but equally obstinate,—of Pitt, when, in a moment of delirium, caused, it is said, by his excessive unpopularity, he put himself to death in the manner of Seneca.* He was replaced at the congress by the Duke of Wellington, who was equally devoted to the consolidation of monarchies as Lord Castlereagh, but more temperate, and more truly a negociator than he was. Mr. Canning, on the death of Lord Castlereagh, assumed the direction of British policy, which an able hand and powerful eloquence alone could then raise from its low condition.

The Emperor of Russia, in addition to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Nesselrode, was accompanied to Verona by Count Capo d'Istria, and M. Pozzo di Borgo, two foreigners naturalised by favour in Russia, each of them inflamed with the greatness of the part he had to play, and desirous of magnifying it still more, the one by earning for himself a liberating patronage in Greece, and the other a monarchical patronage in Spain.

Prince Metternich prepared himself by preliminary conferences at Vienna with MM. de Montmorency and Nesselrode, to bear to Verona the weight of collective resolutions already concerted, against the resistance to the war which he anticipated on the part of Mr. Canning. The triumphant intervention which M. de Metternich had directed the preceding year at Naples and at Turin against the revolutions of Italy, invested him with a degree of confidence, of moral authority, and of superior influence. He was at that time, in the eyes of Europe, the Agamemnon of monarchies.

The King of Prussia, attended by M. de Hardenberg, the

* Not quite : neither was his suicide altogether occasioned by his unpopularity.—TRANSLATOR.

The Emperor Alexander.

light and the oracle of his councils, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Naples, the King of Sardinia, the empresses, the princesses, the courts, the diplomatists, the envoys of the royalist regency of Spain, and the agents of the *Army of the Faith* assembled together at Verona on the 15th October, 1822. The conferences, which were preceded by fêtes and regal splendours, were at length opened and continued slowly, all seeming more disposed to converse and observe each other, than to negotiate. The diplomatists, in fact, seemed fearful of broaching an idea common to all, but which might experience from the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, and perhaps from the indecision of France, a degree of resistance which might give rise to, not only dissensions amongst the courts, but encouragement also to revolutions. The French plenipotentiaries, and M. de Chateaubriand himself, being subordinate by their rank at the congress to M. de Montmorency, their minister, maintained a respectful state of inaction, and confined themselves to conversing with the sovereigns, and thus expressing their sentiments, and opening their hearts. The Emperor Alexander spoke to M. de Chateaubriand, as a hero of humanity and a religious philosopher upon the throne, who felt that he was accountable, not to himself but to heaven, for the fate and the conduct of the 60,000,000 of men who obeyed his voice. He did not disguise the discouragement with which the revolutionary attempts, the secret societies, and the conspiracies of the liberals, whom he had protected in 1814 and 1815, had embittered his first convictions, and his resolution to employ all his energy and all his power in Europe to suppress all fresh explosions, to repulse the genius of the storm, and to maintain against the league of popular passions the holy alliance of sovereigns, which he had instituted, he said, for the preservation of morality, regular progress, and the repose of the world. The mystic accent of his voice added to the sincerity of his policy the sincerity of his faith. The Christian was felt in the monarch. The Emperor, in the course of conversation, related, as an evidence of his personal disinterestedness in the decisions he was soliciting from congress, his own conduct with respect to Greece. This nation

Intrigues of Chateaubriand.

having risen against the Turks, held out its hands to him, and gave itself to Russia, that it might escape from the Ottomans. The community of religion, the fraternity of race, the glory of regenerating a great human family, the advantage of dividing and weakening Turkey, the only obstacle to the expansion of Russia in Asia, in Wallachia, and in Moldavia, the entreaties of the Greeks at his court, amongst others of Count Cap? d'Istria, his courtier, his minister, and his friend, and those of the Empress his mother, all induced him to give a helping hand to the cause of the Hellenists; but he suspended, or withheld that hand, in the apprehension, he added, of giving encouragement and triumph to the revolutionary party, even when this party was rendered legitimate by martyrdom, by independence, and by the cross.

M. de Chateaubriand, happy at finding in the chiefs of the European councils dispositions so analogous to his own, listened to these words of Alexander with sympathetic admiration. He readily forgot in these conversations the cooling and temporising mission which he had received from M. de Villèle. Very far from opposing, he encouraged this indignation of the Emperor of Russia, against the disturbers of European order and the monarchical institutions of Spain. He even won for himself the favour of Alexander, of his sovereign colleagues, and of his royal clients, by counselling them to dare everything in behalf of Ferdinand VII., and by assuring them that the hearts of the royalists in France were already conspiring with them. In thus acting he did not mean to betray, but he hoped to gain over M. de Villèle, to captivate, by conformity of sentiments, the private favour of the northern courts, to show them the statesman of monarchies in the man of letters, and by convincing them of his services, as he dazzled them by his genius, to eclipse M. de Montmorency, to coerce M. de Villèle, to seize, by the right of superiority, the direction of the affairs of Spain, and thus to attach to his person one of those great public events which identify themselves with a name, and bear it, in spite of envy itself, to the esteem of posterity.

The intervention advocated.

XIII

M. de Montmorency, under the impulse of his own thoughts, and the inspiration of the royalist and religious parties in France, spoke and acted to the same purport, little caring whether he was doing violence to the prudence and timidity of M. de Villèle, and even of the King himself. He felt himself upheld against them by the court of the Count d'Artois, by the influence of Madame du Cayla, the friend of his son-in-law, M. de la Rochefoucauld, and by the majority of the Chamber, eager to come to this decisive action with the revolution. He was still further upheld by M. de Metternich, with whom he had gone to concert matters at Vienna, before he went to Verona. Sure of the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia,—master of the King's ear, and of the hearts of his family,—a minister of foreign affairs almost as absolute in his negotiations at Verona as M. de Talleyrand had been at Vienna,—devoured with ardour for religion and the monarchy, which he had afflicted in his youth, burning to signalise his sincere return to their principles by one of those fervid acts which win pardon for noble deviations.—beholden to his own name, associated for so many ages with the origin, the glories, the reverses, and now with the restoration of the dynasty of the Bourbons,—he thought he had no measures to keep in Paris, and he therefore negotiated as if he had had in his instructions the free-will of France in all its plenitude. These instructions, however, drawn up under the influence of M. de Villèle in the council of ministers, presided over by the King himself, were full of reserves, and consequently of restrictions to the powers of the negotiator, of recommendations to refer constantly to his government, and to avoid every act that might coerce the King, and place France in immediate and irrevocable hostility with Madrid.

From the very first day, however, M. de Montmorency broke through the circle of timidity, of reserve, and of temporising, within which he had been shut up. He acted as the minister of the Holy Alliance rather than the negotiator of

By M. de Montmorency.

his country. He submitted to the congress a frank and energetic note, in which he represented Spain as a revolutionary furnace, which threatened to extend itself and to set the Continent in a blaze again. He demanded of the powers, in the name of his government, what their opinion and co-operation would be, in the probable event of a war between France and Spain? This question seemed to have been put thus by a preliminary agreement with the northern courts, to draw forth replies calculated to strike terror into Spain, and to remove all scruple about declaring war from France. Prussia replied that if France withdrew her ambassador from Madrid, Prussia would also withdraw her's, and would lend the support of her arms to the cause of established order. Austria replied that she would support France, requiring only that the contingent of troops she was to lend to the common cause should be determined prior to hostilities by fresh conferences. Russia replied, with still greater energy, that she would without condition lend her moral support and material forces to the war carried on by France in Spain for the deliverance of Ferdinand. England declared that her constitutional principles as to the independence of nations interdicted her from discussing a war of intervention in an independent state. Her plenipotentiary, the Duke of Wellington, consequently refused to sign the official report of the sittings of the congress, in which the questions impinging on the rights of nations had been put. But although this irreproachable attitude of England was a warning to M. de Montmorency and the partisans of war, of a resistance and of diplomatic notes which would complicate matters, neither M. de Montmorency nor M. de Chateaubriand, nor the sovereigns, nor their ministers, looked upon this want of unanimity in the congress as of a nature to suspend the will of Europe, and to throw the British government into an armed alliance with the Spanish revolution. There was at London, as at Paris, a public and parliamentary policy which spoke aloud, and a court and aristocratic policy which worked in the shade. Hostile speeches were expected from Mr. Canning, but his fleets were not dreaded. Spain, so ungrateful towards England, which had fought for her during the war of indepen

The King temporises.

dence, was not so popular in London as to lead the government of Great Britain any farther than a series of protests.

XIV

Armed with these replies, and proud of his success, M. de Montmorency returned to Paris. The elections had taken place during the congress, and had still further reinforced the war party in the elective chamber. On the other hand, the successes of Mina, of San Miguel, and of the constitutional generals against the *Army of the Faith* had increased the audacity of the ultra-faction, and the perils of Ferdinand at Madrid. Everything in Spain announced the greatest convulsions of anarchy, and the last catastrophe of royalty France affected by alarm, by pity, by horror, or by hope, according as these scenes excited her applause or her repugnance, looked on, through her whole extent, at this death-struggle between the King and the revolution on the other side of the Pyrenees. The courts of Russia, Prussia, and Austria addressed threatening notes to Spain, concerted between them and M. de Montmorency. This minister, who was created a duke on his return from the congress, urged his colleagues to transmit to the cabinet of Madrid, a note in conformity with the engagements which he had thought proper to enter into at Verona. The King, however, temporised. Lord Wellington, on his return to London, stopped at Paris, and conversed with him on the dangers of an adhesion to the wishes of the northern powers, and of an intervention under their auspices, which would place his reign in direct contradiction with his institutions, and relax, if it did not altogether sever the ties that connected his throne with England.

The King, who had long before discerned in the Duke of Wellington the statesman under the warrior, was moved by his words. He equally dreaded to resist, or to submit too much to the ascendancy of Russia. He participated in the anxiety of M. de Villèle, and adjourned the decision, dissatisfied, however, with the independence which M. de Montmorency had affected at Vienna and at Verona. He had felt the

Resignation of M. de Montmorency.

necessity of preventing anarchy in his ministry, and of effecting unity of action in it, by appointing M. de Villèle president of the council of ministers. This elevation had hurt not the heart, but the dignity of M. de Montmorency, who, from being an equal in the ministry, had thus become subordinate. M. de Villèle, in virtue of his title as chief of the cabinet, addressed to M. de Lagarde, the French ambassador at Madrid, conciliatory despatches, unknown to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In these despatches he conjured M. de Lagarde to obtain from the revolutionary chiefs of the Cortes some temperate measures and modifications in the Spanish constitution, which would restore safety and dignity to the King, promising at this price the immobility and even the alliance of France. M. de Montmorency and his friends in the Chamber were offended and indignant at these weaknesses, transformed by them into treason against the cause of thrones and altars; and the former felt that this was the moment to summon the King and his own colleagues to avow or disavow their policy. He read to the council the note which he had addressed to the French ambassador at Madrid, which breathed energy and war. This note, being discussed before the King, was supported by M. de Peyronnet, Marshal Victor, and M. Clermont de Tonnerre, and opposed by M. de Villèle, M. de Corbiere, and M. de Lauriston. The King put a stop to the discussion by siding with his prime minister, and adopting qualified and undecided terms, which left peace or war in abeyance. M. de Montmorency refused with dignity to belie by his acts at Paris the promises he had made at Verona. He respectfully offered his resignation to the King, who accepted it, and M. de Villèle triumphed for a day.

XV

But the retirement of M. de Montmorency, a minister dear at once to the congress, to the court, to the royalists, and to the church party, was to be the signal of the rupture between the majority of the Chamber and the Government, by which M. de Villèle would find himself thrown into the same predicament as M. Decazes, with the additional imputation of foul play. He

Is succeeded by Chateaubriand.

felt this, and whether he was ignorant of the inclination, until then skilfully masked, of M. de Chateaubriand, for an energetic policy, or whether he pretended ignorance that he might not break at the same time with the two chiefs of royalism, he called M. de Chateaubriand to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The latter, after some consideration and some decent scruples for his old friend M. de Montmorency, which were easily vanquished by impatience to act an important part, and by the perspective of great political interest, accepted the spoils of M. de Montmorency, who was punished for a fault of opinion which was shared in secret by M. de Chateaubriand. Ambition has its sophisms, which explain these otherwise in explicable contradictions.

M. de Montmorency was grieved at this infidelity of a friend, whose genius he had admired, and whom in his distress he had protected. He did not recriminate, and did not even give his feelings too loud a vent; he neither sought for compensation in popularity, or vengeance in opposition. Inferior in talent, but superior in mind, his virtue was one of that raro species which only borrows from piety its mildness, its humility, and its pardon. He continued to honour, sometimes in obscurity, sometimes at the court, the King who disavowed him, the minister who dismissed him, and the friend who abandoned him: an example almost unique amongst those parties and assemblies, where triumph hardens the heart, and defeat depraves it, and where changes of position are so often changes of language, of cause, and of fidelity.

XVI

The other ministers remained, the disavowal and defeat of their common thought being thrown on M. de Montmorency alone. To appease the resentment of the family and friends of the dismissed minister, M. de Villèle offered to the Duke de Doudeauville, the father of M. Sosthenes de la Rochefoucauld, the ministry of the King's household, which M. de Blacas had occupied, and a participation in the government to his son. Everything was thus settled in the region of the

The French temporise at Madrid.

court and of power, through the influence of favour and the smiles of hope; while the presence and popularity of M. de Chateaubriand sheltered the ministry of M. de Villèle and royalty at the same time.

The note transmitted to Madrid by the French ministry after this crisis, drawn up with the double view of satisfying the allied powers by threatening Spain indirectly, and of reassuring that nation by modifying its menaces, was an enigma unworthy of the frankness of a government, that expressed nothing but indecision and pusillanimity. More confidential despatches interdicted the French ambassador from breaking with the Cortes, and ordered him to come to an understanding with the English ambassador at Madrid, in order to wrest from the revolution a compromise which might preclude the necessity for war. But the English ambassador himself, Sir William A'Court, appeared, either from chance or inattention, the most ill-adapted man that could be chosen for the sincere protection of a revolution in Spain. Devoted in heart and tradition to the old regime cause of the continent, connected with the aristocracy of courts, hostile to the people, incredulous of their efforts to free themselves from the yoke of old institutions, and to govern themselves by a well-regulated liberty, of a sceptical mind, a cold exterior, and a sour temper, he had already, as ambassador, witnessed the revolution at Naples, and no one had so speedily despaired of the heroism of Italy, or so bitterly mocked its defeats. No one could seriously expect from him at Madrid very sincere wishes, or very efficacious efforts to prevent the extremities into which the *ultras* were precipitating themselves. Moreover, had Sir William A'Court been as anxious as Mr. Canning himself to interpose between revolutions and counter-revolutions on the continent, it is well known that revolutions never listen to their moderators till it is too late, and that peoples, like kings, only take lessons from adversity.

XVII.

Such was the situation of Europe and the fluctuation of

The Northern ambassadors leave Madrid.

ideas of the French government, when the notes of the allied sovereigns and that of France arrived at Madrid. The revolutionary government replied to them in the style of Rome to Hannibal, or of the Convention to all Europe in arms. These replies of a people indignant at the orders issued to them even upon their own soil, compelled the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia and Austria, to demand their passports from the Spanish government. They were sent to them in terms that lowered the sentiment of offended dignity to insolence and insult. The French ambassador, M. de Lagarde, separated himself, as he had been directed to do by M. de Villèle, from his colleagues of the northern courts; he remained at Madrid, and continued, in concert with Sir William A'Court, to offer his semi-official mediation between the King and the revolution. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, protested strongly at Paris against a weakness which broke the union of the resolutions of Verona, and which encouraged the resistance of the ultras by every indecision which France evinced in declaring herself. The royalists of the Chamber, who had already arrived in Paris for the opening session, broke out in recriminations and threats against the ministry. The King and M. de Villèle trembled before this indignation of their party, and before the merited reproaches of the allied courts. M. de Chateaubriand then throwing off the feigned moderation which he had assumed until then, to please the King and M. de Villèle, transmitted in his turn, threats and defiance to Madrid, in a despatch to M. de Lagarde, which he submitted to the council of ministers. He summed up, in an indignant note, the grievances with which the revolution of Madrid had furnished France, the good counsel rejected, the conciliation disdained, the insolent summonses addressed to the French government to dissolve its army of observation in the Pyrenees, and to give up to the punishment which awaited them, the fugitive Spaniards sheltered on the protecting soil of France; the French conspirators, on the other hand, received, encouraged, enrolled, paid, armed, invested with dignities, with rank, and with commands in Spain; finally, all the international relations of the two countries suspended by land and sea, through the excesses of an anarchy which left

Decision of Cheateaubriand.

no personal safety, and the interests of French commerce too long sacrificed by a state of underhand hostility, which was neither peace nor war, and which could not be prolonged without degrading at once the dignity and the prosperity of the two nations.

He consequently ordered M. de Lagarde to demand his passports from the Spanish government, and to quit Spain with his entire legation; adding, to hold out a false and final hope of conciliation, that this measure was not yet a declaration of war, and that the Duke d'Angoulême, whom the King was about to invest with the command of the army of observation, reserved to himself the right of treating more effectively with Ferdinand in person, if this monarch, liberated by the Cortes from his disguised captivity, would present himself between the two armies to confer with his cousin on the borders of the Bidassao.

This note being published at Paris was backed by a concentration of troops towards the Pyrenees, which left but little hopes of peace. M. de Villèle alone, while proposing the note, still hoped to withhold it. Connected by his relations as Minister of Finance with all the financial and mercantile aristocracy of Paris, who affected to dread the result of a war on commercial interests, while unblushingly speculating on the fluctuations of public credit, M. de Villèle was acquiring a secret popularity amongst this party of bankers, royalists in the cabinet and liberals in the Chamber, by letting them perceive, in the intimacy of his intercourse with them, his repugnance to a monarchical intervention, against which they declaimed in their meetings and in their journals. But M. de Villèle was himself already carried away by the instinctive movement of public safety in the cause of the monarchy, which he had been too slow in comprehending, and which he was now powerless to retard. M. de Chateaubriand, supported by the wishes of the northern courts, by the enthusiasm of the royalists, by the honour of the Restoration, and by the military impulse of the impatient army, eager for action and glory, triumphed in the council. He dictated, in spite of the corrections, the retouches and the attenuation of M. de Villèle, the King's speech on the

The King's speech on the war.

opening of the session ; a speech which was the war-cry of the royalists, and a clap of thunder to the Opposition.

"I have tried everything," said the King, with an accent which showed that his resolution was only the more irrevocable from the patience with which it had been formed, "I have tried everything to guarantee the safety of my people, and to preserve Spain herself from the greatest calamities. The blindness with which the representations made at Madrid have been repulsed leaves but little hope of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of my minister. One hundred thousand French soldiers, commanded by a prince of my family (the Duke d'Angoulême) are ready to march, invoking the God of St. Louis to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henri IV., to rescue that fine kingdom from ruin, and to reconcile it with Europe. If war is inevitable, I shall use every effort to contract its limit and to shorten its duration ; it shall only be undertaken to restore that peace which the present state of Spain would otherwise render impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give to his people those institutions which they can only hold from him, and which by securing quiet would dissipate the just alarms of France, from that moment hostilities shall cease. I may venture, gentlemen, to take before you this solemn engagement. I have consulted the dignity of my crown, and the honour and safety of France. We are French, and we shall always be of one accord in the defence of such sacred interests !"

XVIII.

These words, so long expected by the royalist majority of both Chambers, by the aristocratical party, the church party, and we must also say by the party of national honour, which in such a cause was not distinct from the honour of the throne, produced a burst of applause in the Chamber, and throughout the country, which made Spain at length tremble. Public credit, artificially shaken for a moment by the speculations and feigned terror of the liberal opposition bankers, rose in spite of them through the confidence always inspired by a great

General enthusiasm for war.

resolution. The army responded to it by acclamations; the undecided rallied, and the timid were reassured. M. de Chateaubriand had contributed courage and genius to the solution of the difficulty, and M. de Villèle only prudence and objections. The salvation of royalty, so long threatened, and outraged with such impunity in Spain, was now in the heart of France. M. de Chateaubriand, in calling forth the long repressed enthusiasm of the royalists, had drawn from it the common safety. The King felt it from the rebound of his words; he had at length placed himself at the head of the national sentiment, of which M. de Villèle had made him too distrustful; and he learned that France would be royalist on all occasions when its honour, its dignity, and its arms were in accordance with royalty.

The resistance to the almost unanimous movement which enlisted all feelings and opinions in the war, took refuge in the meetings and journals of the opposition of the Chamber of Deputies.

In the Chamber of Peers, the statesmen who had not uttered a murmur against the armed invasions, the conquests without pretext, and the endless wars of Napoleon, whose instruments and counsellors they had been, the Darus', the Molés, the Talleyrands, the Pasquiers, the Barantes, and the Segurs, all remnants of the Empire, picked up by the Restoration, but leagued together to wrench it from the royalists, these alone protested, with more or less audacity, against a war which had no ambition for its motive, which was preceded by the most forbearing appeals to a compromise and conciliation of the parties in Spain, and which proclaimed beforehand, if not the inviolability of anarchy, at least the inviolability of the throne and the Spanish nation. This contradiction of parts is explained by the diversity of epochs. The Bonapartist party flattered in 1810 the ambition of a conqueror which enriched it with the spoils of the world, and in 1823 it flattered an anti-Bourbon liberalism which promised it power, or popularity. M. de Talleyrand and M. Molé, forestalled in the tribune by the promptitude of the vote, published the speeches which they had prepared. M. de Talleyrand boasted in his that he had

. Talleyrand opposes it.

counselled Napoleon against the fatal invasion of Spain. The Opposition, complaisant and credulous towards all who serve it, pretended to believe in this resistance of M. de Talleyrand, which Napoleon, silent in his tomb, could no longer contradict. This speech, hawked about by all its organs, deceived only those who were willing to be deceived. M. de Talleyrand on those rare occasions when he appeared in the tribune, studied diplomacy there more than history. His opposition and his predictions to Napoleon were posthumous merits which it suited him to appropriate both before the partisans and the enemies of his benefactor. He wished it to appear that his pretended warnings had foreshadowed reverses and defections.

"It is now sixteen years," he said, with that magisterial impassibility which defies the past, when the past has no voice to reply, "it is now sixteen years since, being called upon by him who then governed the world to give him my advice on a struggle which was about to take place with the Spanish people, I had the misfortune to displease him, by unveiling to him the future, and by foretelling all the dangers that would spring in crowds from an aggression equally rash and unjust: disgrace was the reward of my sincerity. A strange destiny is that which brings me hither, after so long a lapse of time, to renew towards legitimate sovereigns the same efforts, and the same counsels! It belongs especially to me, who have borne so great a part in the events of the double restoration, who by my efforts, I may venture to say by my success, have embarked my fame and my responsibility altogether in this renewal of alliance between France and the house of Bourbon, it belongs to me to prevent as much as in me lies, the work of wisdom and of justice from being compromised by rash and frantic passions!"

"Where are we going to?" was asked in his turn by M. Molé, an orator more innocent of the great external errors of Napoleon, but equally responsible for his despotic system at home. "We are going, it is said, to Madrid! Alas! we have been already there! Will a revolution cease when the independence of the people who are suffering from it is threatened? Have we not the example of the French revolution, which was invincible when its cause became identical with that of our

Apprehensions of the King.

independence? Moreover, parties frequently do things without intending it, *and with them crimes are sometimes acts of necessity!*" This expression in the speech of M. Molé responded to the sinister predictions of the partisans of the war as to the fate which, in their opinion, awaited Ferdinand VII. Manuel, a few days after, was expelled from the Chamber of Deputies for a less terrible allusion. But the name, the opinions, and the past life of M. Molé, who belonged to the race of the proscribed and not of the proscribers of 1793, left no doubt as to the meaning of his expressions, and made them acceptable to the royalists without exciting their indignation. Parties have two weights and two measures, by which they estimate not words but names. These two speeches which produced no sensation in the Chamber of Peers excited a deep one in the King's cabinet. He dreaded the prophecies of M. de Talleyrand, who had so long appeared to him to possess the confidence of fortune. "This man," he said to one of his private friends, "confirms me in the system of M. de Villèle, to temporise and avoid the war, if that be possible!"

XIX.

In the Chamber of Deputies the opposition and royalism contested with more terrible bitterness the question of peace or war, between which the King and M. de Villèle seemed still to waver, in spite of the declarations in the royal speech. M. Hyde de Neuville presented the draft of an address in answer to the speech from the throne, which received the applause of the majority. There was no individual in the Chamber better entitled to offer his sentiments at this crisis of the house of Bourbon, for M. Hyde de Neuville had devoted to it his youth, his fortune, and his life. Descended from English ancestors, he exhibited in France the determined fanaticism of the adherents of the Stuarts, who personified in a royal race, honour, religion, and country, and to whom expiation and the scaffold seemed nothing more than the duties of their faith. An indefatigable conspirator under the republic and under the Empire, a courageous emissary of the King and the princes to

Warlike address of the Deputies.

Paris, living one half of his life under false names, baffling the police of the Directory and of Bonaparte, by a more secret police, the ramifications of which he had laid down even to the capital, for the service of the Bourbons; connected with the Polignacs, the Bourmonts, the Rivières, the Moreaus, the Pichegrus, the Georges, the Clichyens, and the Vendéans; suspected even of complicity with the fabricators of the infernal machine, a suspicion equally odious and unjust, for his character, though eminently fitted by courage and frankness for the honourable pursuit of fame, was altogether antagonistic to crime. As a refugee in the United States during the last years of the Empire, having rubbed off in that land of freedom a part of his prejudices against popular institutions, and only preserved his fidelity as a subject in the breast of a citizen, M. Hyde de Neuville had returned to France with his princes. Having been elected to the Chamber by Berry, his native place, he distinguished himself amongst the ultra-royalists by some stringent doctrines of purification and ebullitions of zeal, which were subsequently cooled down, and by a fiery, frank and manly eloquence, through which the man of action rather than the orator, was visible. His noble countenance, his elevated head, his martial air, the dangers he had incurred for the monarchy, his adventures, his imprisonment, his persecutions, and his exile, gave him great authority amongst the royalists, and constituted him a sort of tribune of royalty.

A man of this stamp could not hesitate in urging his princes and his political party to embark in the cause of monarchy in Spain. He was led away by everything that had the appearance of heroism. His opinions were nothing more than an exaggerated sense of honour.

XX

"Factions," said M. Hyde de Neuville in his address, "have at length lost every hope of impunity. France is exhibiting to Europe the way in which public calamities are repaired. Destined by providence to fill up the abyss of revolutions, the King has tried everything to guarantee his people, and to save Spain from the fatal consequences of the

M. de Villèle yields to the war party

rebellion of some perjured soldiers. A blind obstinacy has repulsed the counsels of the head of the house of Bourbon. Sire, we are French! no sacrifice will be spared by your people to defend the dignity of your crown, and the honour and safety of France! It is your duty to stifle anarchy in order to conquer peace; to restore freedom to a king of your blood, and to deliver from oppression a people who assisted you to break your own chains. Your faithful and courageous army, that army which despised the base incentives to revolt, advances with ardour at your voice, under the standard of the lilies; it has taken up, and will bear arms solely for the maintenance of social order, and to preserve from every contagious and disorganising principle our country and our institutions."

This expressive address of one of the most impatient royalists of the Chamber, exceeded in its language the wishes of M. de Villèle, and did violence in reality to the King, by appearing to applaud his energy. M. de Chateaubriand, the Count d'Artois and his friends, the court, and the army, all seemed personified in the words of M. Hyde de Neuville. For the government to reject them would be to disavow the sentiments of the majority; while to accept them would be submitting to the yoke of its friends, and renouncing all compromise with the liberal party, all negotiation with the liberals of Madrid, and all concert with England. M. de Villèle, compelled by necessity to choose between these two extremes which he was equally averse to, decided for the one least dangerous at the moment to the crown and to his ministry. Though carried away, he pretended himself to originate the movement he could no longer restrain, but M. de Chateaubriand had the credit of it. Meanwhile confidential rumours, which revealed to the ultra-royalists the indecision and repugnance of the prime minister, were circulating in the Chamber. These rumours nourished against him the animosity of M. de Labourdonnaie, M. de Lalott, and their friends, enthusiastic men, who wished to serve their party by violent measures, and whom secret rivalry of importance, of talent, and of ambition irritated underhand against the chief of the cabinet. This

Opposition of M. Royer Collard.

group of malcontents did not dare to refuse the subsidies demanded for the war, as such a refusal would have been a contradiction to their royalism, but they hoped to undermine the minister while voting for his proposition, and to crush him under the very support they were flinging at him. This was the origin of the royalist counter-opposition that was formed in the Chambers under the influence of two evil passions, anger and envy, which linked together at a later period the ultra-monarchy and the ultra-revolution men; which collected into one focus all the germs of faction, skilfully fomented by M. de Chateaubriand himself; which, by dividing the royalists, deprived the government of a broader basis whereon to found the constitutional monarchy; and which, after having overturned M. de Villèle, whose prudence and moderation had combined the centres, left nothing to the Restoration but the option of giving itself up to the extreme left, to the enemies who were plotting its destruction, or to the extreme right, to the blind and retrogressive friends who were making it an antagonistic to the nation.

XXI

M. Royer Collard opened the discussion by a speech wherein he repeated in better language the predictions of M. de Talleyrand and M. Molé, against the war of intervention in Spain. An incomparable orator for the philosophy of a discussion of principles, and for the formula of language, M. Royer Collard had none of those instinctive illuminations which enlighten and decide the statesman in questions of foreign policy. He pondered every thing, but felt nothing. In such deliberations the genius lies in the sentiment; in this he was deficient, and events belied his auguries, as well as those of M. Molé and M. de Talleyrand. His eloquence was dull and spiritless like his ideas; and gratified nothing but the scruples, the timidity, or the malevolence of the Chamber. General Foy displayed the concealed hand of the counter-revolution and the sacerdotal power, coercing the government itself to go and reconquer at Madrid the right of oppressing France. He pre-

Speech of Chateaubriand.

dicted disasters to our arms, and reactions against our liberties. M. de Villèle replied by acknowledging in fact his ideas of compromise and peace, in so far as they had been compatible with the dignity and security of France; but showing at the same time that the insults of the Spanish government, which summoned us even to withdraw our army of observation, left us no other choice than war or humiliation. M. de Chateaubriand was no orator, but he had eloquence. Destitute of that flame of extemporary speaking which gushes out on contradiction, and which illuminates and strikes with the thunders of the tribune, he thought beforehand, he disposed in order, and coloured his pages at leisure, and displaying them before the Assembly he obtained more deliberately, and from posterity, the applause which the orator obtains at the moment. His speech, which was laboriously studied, was at once the exposition of his genius and the manifesto of royalism in the face of Europe; and the fame by which it was ushered made it listened to, not as a speech but as an oracle. When such men speak it is no longer the political orator that is listened to, but the finished artist. Opinion declares its incompetence in the presence of art, and even the greatness of the discussion vanishes before the greatness of the man.

XXII.

M de Chateaubriand, imitating the haughty deference of Mirabeau towards Barnave, the most important of his opponents in the question of the right of peace and war, affected, as he commenced reading his speech, to turn towards the side of General Foy, and to address his words to the most popular and most worthy of his adversaries in the Opposition.

"Gentlemen," he said, with the nervous accent which his timidity in presence of the Assembly imparted to his voice, and with that concentrated expression which reflection lent to his features, "I shall at once set aside the personal objections, for private feelings must have no place here. I have no reply to make to mutilated pieces, printed by means unknown to me in foreign gazettes. I commenced my ministerial career

The question of Intervention.

with the honourable member who spoke last, during the hundred days, when we each had a portfolio *ad interim*, he at Paris and I at Ghent. I was then writing a romance, he was employed on history; I still adhere to romance.

"I am about to examine the series of objections presented at this tribune. These are numerous and diversified; but that I may not go astray in so vast a field, I shall arrange them under different heads.

"Let us first examine the question of intervention. Has one government a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another government? This great question of public right has been resolved in opposite ways; those who have connected it with natural law, as Bacon, Puffendorf, Grotius, and all the ancients, are of opinion that it is permitted to take up arms, in the name of human society, against a people who violate the principles upon which general order is based, in the same manner as in private life we punish common disturbers of the peace.

"Those who look upon the question as a point of civil law maintain, on the contrary, that one government has no right to intervene in the affairs of another government.

"Thus, the former place the right of intervention in our duties, and the latter in our interests.

"Gentlemen, I adopt the principle laid down by the civil law; I take the side of modern politicians, and I say with them, no government has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another government.

"In fact, if this principle were not admitted, and especially by peoples who enjoy a free constitution, no nation could be free on its own soil; for the corruption of a minister, or the ambition of a king, would be sufficient to occasion an attack upon any state which should endeavour to improve its condition. To the various causes of war, already too numerous, you would thereby add a perpetual principle of hostility, a principle of which every man in possession of power would be the judge, because he would always have the right of saying to his neighbours: Your institutions displease me; change them, or I shall declare war against you.

 Example of Great Britain.

"I hope my honourable opponents will acknowledge that I explain myself frankly.

"But in presenting myself in this tribune to maintain the justice of our intervention in the affairs of Spain, how am I to escape from the principle which I myself have enounced? You shall see, gentlemen.

"When modern politicians had rejected the right of intervention, by omitting the natural, to place themselves within the civil law, they found themselves very much embarrassed. Cases occurred in which it was impossible to abstain from intervention without putting the State in danger. At the commencement of the revolution it was said: 'Let the colonies perish rather than a principle!' and the colonies accordingly perished. Was it right to say also: 'Let social order perish rather than a principle?' That they might not be wrecked against the very rule they had established they had recourse to an exception, by means of which they returned to the natural law, and said: 'No government has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of a nation, unless in such a case as may compromise the immediate safety, and essential interests of that government.' I shall presently quote the authority from which I borrow these words.

"The exception, gentlemen, does not appear to me more questionable than the rule; no State can allow its essential interests to perish, under the penalty of perishing itself as a State. Having reached this point of the question the whole face of it is changed,—we find ourselves altogether upon different ground. I am no longer bound to contest the rule, but to prove that the case of exception has occurred for France.

"Before I adduce the motives which justify your intervention in the affairs of Spain, I ought first, gentlemen, to support my statement on the authority of examples.

"I shall frequently have occasion in the course of my speech to speak of England, since my honourable opponents quote it every moment against us, in their extempore, as well as in their written and printed speeches. It was Great Britain alone who defended these principles at Verona, and it is she

Favourable to intervention.

alone who now rises against the right of intervention ; it is she that is ready to take up arms for the cause of a free people ; it is she that reproves an impious war, hostile to the rights of man,—a war which a little bigotted and servile faction wishes to undertake, to return on its conclusion to burn the French Charter, after having rent in pieces the Spanish Constitution. Is not that it, gentlemen ? We shall return to all these points ; but first let us speak of the intervention.

“ I fear that my honourable opponents have made a bad choice of their authority. England, say they, has set us a great example by protecting the independence of nations.

“ Let England, safe amidst her waves, and defended by ancient institutions,—let England,—which has not suffered either the disasters of two invasions, or the disorders of a thirty years’ revolution,—think that she has nothing to fear from Spain, and feel averse to intervene in her affairs, nothing certainly can be more natural ; but does it follow that France enjoys the same security, and is in the same position ? When, under other circumstances, the essential interests of Great Britain have been compromised did she not for her own safety, and very justly without doubt, derogate from the principles which are now invoked in her name ?

“ England, on going to war with France, promulgated, in the month of November, 1793, the famous declaration of Whitehall. Permit me, gentlemen, to read a passage of it for you ; the document commences by recalling the calamities of the revolution, and then adds :—

“ The intentions set forth of reforming the abuses of the French government, of establishing upon a solid basis personal liberty and the rights of property, of securing to a numerous people a wise legislation, an administration, and just and moderate laws,—all these salutary views have unhappily disappeared : they have given place to a system destructive of all public order, maintained by proscriptions, by banishment, by confiscations without number, by arbitrary imprisonment, and by massacres, the memory of which is frightful. The inhabitants of this unhappy country, so long deceived by promises of happiness, always renewed at the epoch of every fresh crime,

The declaration of Whitehall.

have been plunged into an abyss of calamities without example.

“This state of affairs cannot subsist in France, without implicating in one common danger all the neighbouring powers, without giving them the right, without imposing upon them the duty of arresting the progress of an evil which only exists by the successive violation of all laws, and every sense of propriety, and by the subversion of the fundamental principles which unite men together, by the ties of social life. His Majesty certainly does not mean to dispute with France the right of reforming its laws; he would never wish to influence by external force the mode of government of an independent state nor does he desire it now, but in so far as this object has become essential to the peace and security of other powers Under these circumstances he demands of France, and his demand is based upon a just title, the termination at length of a system of anarchy which is only powerful in doing wrong, incapable of fulfilling towards the French people the first duty of government, to repress the disturbances and to punish the crimes which daily multiply in the interior of the country; but, on the contrary, disposing in an arbitrary manner, of their lives and property, to disturb the peace of other nations, and to make all Europe the theatre of similar crimes and like calamities. He demands of France the establishment of a stable and legitimate government, founded on the recognised principles of universal justice, and calculated to maintain with other nations the customary relations of union and of peace. The King, on his part, promises beforehand, a suspension of hostilities; and friendship in so far as he may be permitted by events which are not at the disposal of the human will, safety and protection to all those who, declaring themselves for a monarchical government, shall withdraw themselves from the despotism of an anarchy which has broken all the most sacred ties of society, rent asunder all the relations of civil life, violated all rights, confounded all duties; availing itself of the name of liberty to exercise the most cruel tyranny, to annihilate all property, to seize upon all estates, founding its power on the pretended consent of the people, and ruining whole pro-

Against the French revolution.

vinces with fire and sword, for having reclaimed their laws, their religion, and their legitimate sovereign ! •

“Well, gentlemen, what think you of this declaration? Did you not imagine that you were listening to the very speech pronounced by the King at the opening of the present session ; but that speech developed, explained, and commented upon with equal force and eloquence? England says she acts in concert with her allies, and we should be thought criminal in also having allies! England promises assistance to French royalists, and it would be taken ill if we were to protect Spanish royalists! England maintains that she has the right of intervening to save herself and Europe from the evils that are desolating France, and we are to be interdicted from defending ourselves from the Spanish contagion! England rejects the pretended consent of the French people; she imposes upon France, as the price of peace, the *condition of establishing a government founded on the principles of justice, and calculated to maintain the customary relations with other states*, and we are to be compelled to recognise the pretended sovereignty of the people, the legality of a constitution established by a military revolt, and we are not to have the right of demanding from Spain, for our security, institutions legalised by the freedom of Ferdinand !

“We must, however, be just: when England published this famous declaration, Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI. were no more. I acknowledge that Marie Josephine is, as yet, only a captive, and that nothing has yet been shed but her tears; Ferdinand, also, is at present only a prisoner in his palace, as Louis XVI. was in his, before he went to the Temple, and thence to the scaffold. I do not wish to calumniate the Spaniards, but neither do I wish to estimate them more highly than my own countrymen. Revolutionary France produced a Convention, and why should not revolutionary Spain produce one also? Shall I be told that by accelerating the movement of intervention, we shall make the position of the monarch more perilous? But did England save Louis XVI. by refusing to declare herself? Is not the intervention which prevents the evil more useful than that by which it is avenged?

Right of France to intervene.

Spain had a diplomatic agent at Paris at the period of the celebrated catastrophe, and his prayers could obtain nothing. What was this family witness doing there? He was certainly not required to authenticate a death that was known to earth and heaven. Gentlemen, the trials of Charles I. and of Louis XVI. are already too much for the world, but another judicial murder would establish, on the authority of precedents, a sort of criminal right, and a body of jurisprudence for the use of subjects against their kings.

“But England, perhaps, who had admitted the case of exception in her own cause, will not admit it in the cause of another. No, gentlemen, England has not so narrow and selfish a policy. She recognises in others the rights she claims for herself. Her essential interests were not compromised by the revolution of Naples: she did not consider it her duty to intervene; but she decided that it might be otherwise with respect to Austria, and it was on the subject of this transaction that Lord Castlereagh explained himself so distinctly in his circular of the 19th January, 1821. He at first contests the principle of intervention laid down by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in the Laybach circular, he then adds: *‘It must be clearly understood that no government can be more disposed than the British government to maintain the right of any or of all states, to intervene, when their immediate security, or their essential interests are seriously compromised by the domestic transactions of another state.’* There can be nothing more formal than this declaration; and the home secretary of Great Britain, Mr. Peel, was not afraid to say, in one of the late sittings of the House of Commons, that Austria had had a right to intervene in the affairs of Naples. Certainly if Austria had had the right to go to Naples to overturn the Spanish Constitution there, we shall not, perhaps, be denied the right of combatting that Constitution in its own country when it puts France in danger.

“It now remains to show that we are in a legal case of exception, and that our essential interests are injured. In the first place, our essential interests are injured by the state of sufferance in which a portion of our commerce is held by the

Her interests being compromised.

Spanish revolution. We are obliged to keep ships of war in the American seas, which are infested by pirates sprung from the anarchy in Spain. Several of our merchant vessels have been pillaged, and we have not, like England, a maritime force sufficient to compel the Cortes to indemnify us for our losses.

“On the other hand, our provinces bordering upon Spain have the most pressing occasion for the establishment of order on the other side of the Pyrenees. So far back as the month of June 1820 (and at that time there was no question of a war), an honourable deputy said in this Chamber, that the Spanish Revolution, by interrupting the communication with France, diminished by one-half the value of land in the department of the *Landes*. Is it to be expected that civil wars will cease and leave the field free to our commerce? Do not reckon upon it. Nothing ends of its own accord in Spain—neither the passions nor the virtues.

“Our consuls threatened in their persons, our vessels repulsed from Spanish ports, our territory thrice violated, are not these essential interests compromised?

“—— Our territory violated! How? and wherefore? For the purpose of slaughtering some unhappy wounded men of the royalist army, who thought they might die in peace in the vicinity, and, as it were, under the shadow of our generous country. Their cries were heard by our peasants, who blessed in their cabins the King to whom they owe the happiness of being delivered from revolutions.

“Our essential interests are still further compromised by this alone, that we are compelled to have an army of observation on the frontiers of Spain. How many days, months, or years will it be necessary to maintain this army? This state of semi-hostility has all the disadvantages of war, without the advantages of peace; it weighs heavy on our finances, it disturbs the public mind, it exposes the soldiery, too long idle, to all the corruptions of the agents of discord. Will the partisans of peace at any price require, in order to obtain it, that we should obey the summons of San Miguel, and withdraw our army of observation? Well then! Let us fly before the troops of the *Hammer*, and the *Landaburrian* bands, and let the

The army of observation.

memory of our weakness in the first military act of the Restoration be for ever allied to the memory of the return of legitimacy.

“ But for what purpose has an army of observation been established? Why not allow Spain to consume herself? What neutrality! What! Even if we were certain of being sheltered from the evils which desolate the soil of our neighbours, would we coolly look on and see them destroy one another without attempting to interpose a generous hand between them! And if we were confident of our neutrality being respected, ought we by our improvidence to allow the Spaniards to fight their battles in the very midst of us, to burn our villages and to plunder our peasantry? Would not the violation of our territory be sufficient to justify the establishment of a cordon of safety? England herself has approved of the wisdom of this measure. In the official note of his Grace the Duke of Wellington presented to the congress of Verona, is the following passage: ‘ Considering that a civil war is raging on the whole extent of frontier which separates the two kingdoms, that armies are operating on every point of this frontier on the French side, and that there is not a town or village of this frontier, on the French side, which does not incur the risk of being insulted or disturbed, no one can disapprove of the precaution taken by his most christian majesty, of forming a corps of observation for the protection of his frontiers, and the tranquillity of his subjects.’

“ On the 11th January last, a note addressed to His Most Christian Majesty’s *Chargé d’Affaires* in London, by the principal Secretary of State of His Britannic Majesty, contains these words: ‘ The Duke of Wellington has offered no objection, in the name of the King his master, to the precautionary measures adopted by France on her own frontiers, because those measures were evidently authorised by the right of self-defence, not only against the sanitary dangers in which they originated, and which were the motives exclusively alleged up to the month of September for maintaining them, but also against the inconvenience which France might sustain from civil commotions, in a country only separated from her by a conventional boundary against the

Dangers that threaten France.

moral contagion of political intrigues; and finally, against the violation of the French territory by accidental military inroads.'

"The words *moral contagion*, gentlemen, are not mine, but I shall avail myself of this admission; and I maintain that this moral contagion is the most terrible of all, and that, above all, it is the one which compromises our essential interests. Who can be ignorant that the Spanish revolutionists are in correspondence with our own? Have not attempts been made, by public provocations, to induce our soldiers to revolt? Has it not been threatened to send down the tri-coloured flag from the summit of the Pyrenees, in order to bring back the son of Bonaparte? Are we not acquainted with the designs, the plots, and the names of culprits escaped from the hands of justice, who threaten to invade us under that uniform of our brave soldiers which is but ill suited to traitors? Would not a revolution, which excites amongst us so many passions and recollections, compromise our essential interests? This revolution, we are told, is isolated, shut up in the Peninsula, from which it cannot emerge; as if, in the state of civilization at which the world has arrived, there was such a thing in Europe as states strangers to each other! Is not that which occurred not long since at Naples and at Turin a sufficient proof that the moral contagion may spread beyond the Pyrenees? Was it not in favour of the constitution of the Cortes that the government of this country was to be abolished? And let us not be told that the people wished for this constitution in consideration of its excellence: it was so little known at Naples that when it was adopted a committee was at the same time appointed to translate it. It failed, therefore, like all that is not national, like all that is foreign to the manners of a people. Ridiculous in its birth, it died contemptibly between a Carbonaro and an Austrian corporal.

"With respect to our external policy, our essential interests are no less compromised. The president of the council has already said in the Chamber of Peers 'In Spain we do not look for either special advantages, or the re-establishment of treaties which time has destroyed; but we ought to expect an equality

False notions of the Coalition.

which would leave us nothing to apprehend.' Should the constitution of Cadiz continue such as it is, it would infallibly reduce Spain to a republic; we might then see alliances formed and relations created, which, in future wars, might considerably diminish our strength. Before the revolution France had only one frontier to defend. She was guarded on the South by the Mediterranean, on the West by Spain, on the North by the Ocean, and on the East by Switzerland: there remained, therefore, between the North and the East only a short line, bristling with fortified places, on which we could assemble all our forces. Let this state of things be changed; let us be forced to watch our eastern and western frontiers, and at that instant the division of our army would compel us in order to defend the North, to make those efforts by which States are exhausted. Such a position might produce the greatest calamities; yes, gentlemen, the greatest calamities, and I am well grounded in the assertion. Let us learn from experience; through what countries have those armies passed which have invaded our territory? Through Switzerland and through Spain, which the frantic ambition and false policy of one man had detached from our alliance. Short-sighted politicians, let us not imagine that the innovations of Spain are nothing to us, and thus expose, by the consequence of our errors, the independence of our posterity.

"I am now come, gentlemen, to the great question of the coalition and of the congresses: the coalition has been invented to enslave the world; the tyrants are assembled to conspire against the people; at Verona, France begged the assistance of Europe to destroy freedom; at Verona our plenipotentiaries compromised the honour and sold the independence of their country; the occupation of France and Spain was decided on; the Cossacks were to hurry from their distant haunts to execute the great designs of the kings, and these latter were to compel France to enter into an odious war, as the ancients occasionally made their Helots march to battle.

"This is the point, gentlemen, when I am obliged to make an effort to preserve the coolness and discretion which the dignity of character demands. It is difficult, I confess, to listen without emotion to such strange accusations against an

Inconsistency of French politicians.

old minister that commands the respect of all who approach him. I have only one regret, and that is sincere, which is, that you do not hear from the mouth of my predecessor his *own* explanations to which his virtues would add a weight that I cannot flatter myself with giving them. He has been called from this tribune the Duke of Verona. If this was from the esteem with which he has inspired all the sovereigns of Europe, he merits well to be so called; it is a new title of nobility added to all those which the Montmorencies already possess.

"As to my noble colleagues at the congress of Verona, it would be an insult on my part to defend them.

"On reading the journals of the party whose opinion is opposed to my own, I see in them incessantly the eulogium, well-merited certainly, of the English government. Some good Frenchmen, even; would have us imagine that there would be no harm if England broke her neutrality, and took up arms against their country. They forgot the insults they lavished upon this same England, in the cause of liberty, not quite a year since, the caricatures with which they covered the Boulevards, the pamphlets with which they inundated Paris, and the patriotism they fancied they were displaying, by insulting in the grossest manner, the poor artists of London. In their love for revolutions they seem to have forgotten all their hatred for the soldiers who had the fortune of the day at Waterloo: it matters little to them now what those English soldiers have done, provided they assist in maintaining against a Bourbon the revolutionists of Spain. On the other hand, those continental allies, whose friendship they counted on, are now become the objects of their animadversion. Why did they not complain of the loss of our independence when foreign powers exercised so great an influence on our fate, when their ambassadors were consulted even upon the laws that were proposed in the two Chambers? Europe, we were then told, applauded the ordinance of the 5th September; Europe approved of the treatment to which the royalists were subjected; Europe, in its public acts, has expressed its satisfaction at the system pursued: and out of consideration for this system, has withdrawn its soldiers and discontinued the subsidies. Who, at that period,

Moderation of the Congress.

gentlemen, protested against this surrender of the dignity of France? Could it be, by chance, those very persons who had lowered that dignity at Verona? In this case it would be but just to hear them before they were condemned, and not too hastily to conclude that they have changed their opinions and their principles because others have done so.

"Gentlemen, I have to make an avowal to you: I went to the congress with prejudices but little favourable to it; for I still recollected the scornful treatment of Europe. Being a sincere friend to the public liberties and the independence of nations, I was somewhat shaken by those calumnies which are still repeated every day. What was I compelled to see at Verona? Princes full of moderation and justice; kings, honest men, whom their subjects would wish to have for friends if they had them not for masters. I have written down, gentlemen, the words I heard issue from the mouth of a prince, whose magnanimity my honourable opponents have praised, and whose favour they have sought at another epoch.

"'I am very glad,' said the Emperor Alexander to me one day, 'that you have come to Verona, that you may be a witness of the truth. Could you believe, as is said by our enemies, that the Coalition is a word only made use of to cover ambition?' That, perhaps, might have been true in the ancient state of things; but we have something else than private interests to think of now-a-days, when the civilized world is in danger!

"'There can no longer be any such thing as English, French, Russian, Prussian, or Austrian policy; there is no longer any but a general policy which ought, for the safety of all, to be admitted in common by peoples and kings. It was my duty the first to exhibit my conviction of the principles upon which I founded the Coalition. An opportunity offered itself in the Greek revolution; nothing, certainly, seemed more to my interest and that of my subjects, or more consonant with the wishes of my country, than a religious war with Turkey; but I thought I saw the revolutionary sign in the troubles of the Peloponnesus, and from that moment I abstained.

Rational opinions of Alexander.

“ ‘What efforts have been made to break the Coalition ! By turns it has been tried to excite unfavourable prejudices in my breast, or to hurt my self-love. I have been openly insulted even ; but I was little known to those who thought that my principles were founded on self-conceit, or might yield to personal resentment. No, I shall never separate myself from the monarchs with whom I am allied ; kings ought to be permitted to have public alliances, to defend themselves against secret societies. What is there that can tempt me ? What occasion have I to increase my empire ? Providence has not placed under my orders eight hundred thousand soldiers to satisfy my ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to give stability to those principles of order which are the groundwork of human society.’

“ Words like these, gentlemen, in the mouth of such a sovereign, were well worthy of being recorded. Moderation is the ruling feature in the character of Alexander ; can you, therefore, imagine that he wishes for war at any price, in virtue of some unknown right divine, and out of hatred to the liberty of nations ? This, gentlemen, is a complete error ; at Verona the principle of peace is always advocated ; at Verona the allied powers have never talked of making war against Spain ; but they considered that France, in so different a position from theirs, might be forced into this war ;—but has the result of this conviction produced onerous or dishonourable treaties for France ? No. Has a passage even been demanded for foreign troops through the French territory ? Never. What, then, has happened ? It has happened that France is one of the five great powers which compose the Coalition,—that she will continue invariably attached to it,—and that, in consequence of this Coalition, which is already eight years’ old, she will find, in cases foreseen and determined upon, a support which, far from affecting her dignity, should prove the high rank she occupies in Europe.

“ The error my honourable opponents have fallen into is to confound independence with isolation. Does a nation cease to be free because it has treaties ? Is it constrained in its progress, does it suffer a shameful yoke because it has relations

 Liberal conduct of Austria.

with powers of equal strength with its own, and subject to the conditions of a perfect reciprocity? What nation has ever been without alliance, in the midst of other nations? Does there exist in history a single example? Is it wished to make a sort of Hebrew people of the French, segregated from the rest of the human race? To what reproach very differently founded would the government be exposed, if it had foreseen, or combined nothing, and if, in the event of a possible war, it was ignorant even of the part which might be taken by other powers.

“At the period when we had no army, when we went for nothing amongst the states of the continent: when petty German princes invaded our villages with impunity, and we did not dare to complain of it, no one said that we were slaves; but at present, when our military regeneration has astonished Europe,—when our voice is listened to in the assembly of kings,—when new conventions have effaced the memory of those treaties by which we were compelled to expiate our victories,—it is asserted that we are suffering under a humiliating yoke! Cast your eyes upon Italy and you will see another effect of the congress of Verona: Piedmont, the evacuation of which will be completed by the month of October; the kingdom of Naples, from which seventeen thousand men are being withdrawn, the military contribution of which is diminished, and which would now be totally evacuated had its army been re-organised.

“Did not Austria, however, aspire to the entire dominion of Italy? Did not the congress of Laybach deliver up to it this fine country? And, generally speaking, are not all these congresses invented to extend oppression, and to stifle the liberty of peoples under long military occupations? One year, however, has scarcely passed, and behold, *ambitious* Austria is in the act of returning to their legitimate sovereigns the states she has saved from revolutions!

“France has no intention, gentlemen, of imposing institutions on Spain: national liberties enough repose in the laws of the ancient *Cortes* of Arragon and of Castile, to furnish the Spaniards with a remedy both against anarchy and despotism.

Comparison of Bonaparte's invasion.

Our adversaries, however, should be consistent, and not reproach us, on the one hand, with an intention of maintaining arbitrary power in Spain, and on the other, with the project of naturalising the charter there.

We cannot, at one and the same time, wish for liberty and slavery.

"Gentlemen, I will freely admit that France ought not to meddle with the political establishments of Spain. It is for the Spaniards alone to know what best suits their state of civilization; but I wish with all my heart this great people to have freedom in conformity with its manners and institutions, which may place its virtues under shelter from the inconstancy of fortune and the caprice of men Spaniards! It is not an enemy who speaks to you, but one who predicted the reaction of your noble destiny, at the time you were thought to be forever fallen from the stage of the world. You have surpassed my predictions; you have snatched Europe from the yoke which the most powerful empires could not break; you owe to France your misfortunes and your glory. She has sent you these two scourges: Bonaparte and the revolution. Deliver yourselves from the second as you have repulsed the first.*

"Permit me, gentlemen, to refute the comparison which has been drawn between the invasion of Bonaparte and that to which France is at present compelled; between a Bourbon marching to the deliverance of a Bourbon, and the usurper who seized upon the crown of a Bourbon, after having seized upon his person by an unexampled act of treachery; between a conqueror who marched forward casting down altars, killing the monks, transporting the priesthood, and overthrowing the institutions of the country, and a descendant of St. Louis, who goes to protect everything that is sacred amongst

* The prediction here alluded to, is in the "Genius of Christianity," part 3, book iii, chap. v. "Spain separated from the other nations, offers to the historian a still more original character: the sort of stagnation of manners in which she reposes will, perhaps, one day be useful to her, and when the other European peoples shall be exhausted by corruption, she alone may reappear with éclat upon the stage of the world, because her moral ground-work still subsists her national character."

With the Duke d'Angoulême's expedition.

men, and who being formerly himself proscribed is going to put a period to proscriptions.

"Bonaparte could find no friends amongst the subjects of a Bourbon, and the descendants of the hero of Castile, but we have neither assassinated the last of the Condés, nor exhumed the Cid, and the arms that were raised to oppose Bonaparte will combat for us.

"I could have wished that our opponents had spoken with less bitterness against those Spanish royalists who now support the cause of Ferdinand. I recollect that I have been banished like them, unfortunate like them, and calumniated like them.

"And why have we been reminded of that message to the Senate, touching the occupation of Spain by Bonaparte? Does this monument of derision and of slavery accuse us? I was aware of it, but I did not wish to make use of it, that I might not wound the feelings of those who at this day rise in opposition to the war: they were silent on the subject when the Senate declared that the invasion of Bonaparte was just and politic.

"As to the ministers, gentlemen, the speech from the throne has traced out to them the line of their duty. They will not relax their wishes for peace, nor cease to invoke it with all their prayers, while listening to every proposition compatible with the safety and honour of France; but Ferdinand must be free, and France must relieve herself, at every cost, from a position in which she would much more certainly perish than by a war. Let us never forget that if the Spanish war has, like all other wars, its inconvenience and its perils, it will have had for us an immense advantage. It will have created for us an army, it will have raised us to our military rank amongst the nations, it will have decided our emancipation, and re-established our independence.

"Something, perhaps, was still wanted for the complete reconciliation of the French; this will be accomplished in the field: companions in arms soon become friends, and all unpleasant recollections are lost in the pursuit of one common glory.

"The King, our wise, paternal and pacific King, has

The Royalists in raptures.

spoken. He has decided that the safety of France, and the dignity of the crown made it his duty to have recourse to arms, when conciliatory measures had all been tried in vain.

"The King has ordered the assembling of 100,000 troops, under the command of the prince, who at the passage of the Drome displayed a bravery worthy of Henri IV. The King, with generous confidence, has entrusted the *drapeau blanc* to generals who have triumphed with other colours. They will reconduct it in the road to victory; it has never deviated from that of honour."

XXIII.

The royalists had never heard their reasons and their passions developed to themselves with greater perfection, and presented to France and to Europe under a more plausible aspect, and in more brilliant colours. In applauding M. de Chateaubriand they applauded themselves, and fancied that his speech was only the echo of their own thoughts. Their plaudits were prolonged to the very conclusion of the sitting. They allowed no reply to weaken the effect upon the country of this party manifesto; and it was immense.

Manuel, who had reserved himself, as the most expert and readiest of the opposition orators, to reply to this speech, could not approach the tribune till the following day. A rigorous debater, and a cutting adversary, Manuel, whose practice at the bar had accustomed him to strike rather than persuade his adversaries, was, of all the revolutionary orators, the most dreaded by, and the most odious to the majority. They remembered his suspected connection with Fouché, his double-meaning speech to procure, to the exclusion of the Bourbons, the feigned proclamation of Napoleon II., his fame as an agitator in the South, his relations with M. Lafitte, the popular banker, whose speeches he was supposed to polish, at the same time that he himself imbibed the inspirations of the banker. He was also suspected of permanent conspiracy with Lafayette, and of underhand participation in the direction of Carbonarism. Manuel, in the eyes of the partisans of legitimacy, personified three or four plots in one individual. Republicanism, Jacobin-

Speech of Manuel

ism, Bonapartism, and Orleanism, seemed to them to be all concentrated in him at the same time. In every sentence he uttered they fancied they could detect a watchword to their enemies, a threat against the monarchy, an insult to the Bourbons, or an invocation to their ruin. In these sentiments of the royalists there was more of prejudice than justice. Manuel was profoundly devoted to the liberal cause, he dreaded for this cause the natural resentment of a dynasty which had been too deeply offended by the revolution ever to forgive it in reality; he was desirous of securing, against the sway of the Bourbons, the most irrevocable pledges in the strength of liberal institutions; he, perhaps, aspired to the overthrow of the Bourbons, and to replace their dynasty by a revolutionary one, which should owe everything to the people, and should free itself more completely from the priesthood, and from the authority against which more especially the revolution had been made in '89. But he was far from thinking of, or even excusing the anarchy, the scaffolds, and the spoliations of 1793. There was in him something of the Girondist of '92; he was a Vergniaud with inferior genius, equal honesty, and greater physical courage. A constitution of 1791, and even a legitimate Bourbon, bound through the throne to popular interests, would not have found in Manuel either an enemy or a conspirator. But Manuel and the majority mutually suspected each other of crimes of opinion which render parties irreconcilable. Between adversaries thus prejudiced there is no longer any justice, because intelligence is hoodwinked. They do not try, but proscribe each other.

XXIV.

"Gentlemen," he said, his presence alone in the tribune exciting the attention and the umbrage of the royalists, "it is, we are told, with the object of suppressing the revolutionary spirit that the war is to be carried into the Peninsula. Without doubt the revolutionary spirit is dangerous; but is the counter-revolutionary spirit less so? Is not a counter-revolution, on the contrary, the worst of revolutions? In the

Against intervention.

first place, everything that the revolution has established must be destroyed,—the nation must be restored to its ancient state, that is to say, to the same condition in which it was when a total subversion had appeared to it to be the only possible remedy for its evils; it is, finally, necessary to add to the evils which the revolution has produced those which its fall must unavoidably occasion, and all this to arrive at a new and inevitable revolution. I wish to adopt the most favourable suppositions. I grant you Spain invaded, all resistance beaten down; but you must retire at length, you cannot remain for ever in the Peninsula. How are you to act when you have quitted its territory, to prevent a new revolution from exploding there? Consult history, gentlemen; where is the revolution made in favour of freedom that has ever been vanquished? Such a revolution may for the moment be repressed; but the genius which produced it, the genius of liberty, is imperishable like Anteus, the giant regains his strength every time he touches the earth.

“Have you forgotten how a few Helvetian herdsmen set at defiance the whole force of Austria? And how a few Dutch fishermen triumphed over the formidable armies of Philip II.? We ourselves, in our own day, have we not seen a mere handful of Americans triumphantly resist the whole power of England? Finally, has not France herself braved for thirty years the combined forces of all Europe, conspiring together against her glory and her liberty.

“On the other hand, what will be the result to the Spaniards of the war you intend to carry into their country? What government is to be substituted for the constitution of the Cortes? Who is to give the new institutions? Is it Ferdinand? But we know how sovereigns keep their promises. The King of Prussia and the King of Naples, in their hours of distress, promised constitutions to their subjects: Leopold also announced free institutions for Italy; finally, Lord William Bentinck raised the Genoese against us by calling them to independence. All these promises were formal and authentic, but where are the constitutions? The imagination recoils with horror at the thought alone of the vengeance which is hanging

His allusion to the fate of Louis XVI.

over Spain. When Ferdinand was replaced in 1814 upon the throne of his fathers, he had not to punish but to recompense. Well! so far from recognising the services of those friends of liberty who at the price of their blood had restored him his crown, he gave them up to the Jesuits and the Inquisition,—he rewarded them with exile, tortures, and executions. He made himself terrible, and his government was atrocious. What will he be then when he has personal injuries to punish? When the conduct of affairs shall fall into the hands of men who will have their exile, the persecutions they have suffered, and their fallen ambition to avenge? But it must be done. The Spaniards, we are told, are murdering each other, and we must intervene to put a stop to these calamities. It is, we must confess, a singular mode of diminishing the horrors of civil war to add to them the evils of a foreign one. Civil war is a calamity, no doubt; but it terminates, at least, by the defeat of one of the two contending parties. Well! what are you about to do? The insurrection is put down in Spain,—it has laid down its arms,—it is annihilated; but you are going to call it into existence again, and as if it were not enough to light up anew an extinguished civil war, and to cause another effusion of Spanish blood, you are also going to shed whole rivers of French blood in Spain. I will go farther, and assert that civil war was in a great measure your own work, for the *Soldiers of the Faith* took up arms and maintained the struggle only with the belief that you were prepared to support and defend them. How then can you find in circumstances created by yourselves, a justification for your intervention? Would you justify an act of violence by an act of perfidy?

“But you allege another consideration; you wish, you say, to save Ferdinand and his family. Beware of renewing those circumstances which, in other times, have conducted to the scaffold those victims for whom you manifest every day so lively and so legitimate an interest. Have you then forgotten, gentlemen, that the Stuarts were dethroned solely because they sought the aid of a foreign power? Have you forgotten that it was the intervention of foreign armies which dragged Louis XVI. from the throne?

Suddenly interrupted by the Royalists.

“ On reading the narrative of facts which have left such durable and melancholy traces, how can we be ignorant that it was the assistance granted by France to the Stuarts which caused the ruin of those princes. This assistance was clandestine, it is true, but it encouraged the Stuarts in their resistance to public opinion ; whence sprang the popular excitement and the misfortunes of that family,—misfortunes which they would have avoided if they had sought for support in the nation itself. Have I any occasion to add, that the dangers of the royal family in France assumed a more threatening aspect when our territory was invaded by foreign troops ; and that France, revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending herself by new powers, and by fresh energy——”

XXV.

At these words the royalists fancied they heard treason at length escape in a sinister and involuntary explosion from the lips and heart of the Catiline of the hundred days. They hastened to pounce upon, that they might have a right to execrate it. By one unanimous movement of indignation they interrupted the phrase, which contained, in their opinion, only half the blasphemy, to drive back the rest into the heart of the blasphemer. “ Order ! order ! ” was shouted from every bench on the right. “ This is justifying and provoking regicide ! Such blasphemy must be avenged ! President, do your duty ! Expel him ! expel him ! Let us drive the unworthy wretch from our ranks ! ” M. Ravez, the president, was at first unwilling to call the orator to order, on a phrase the meaning of which was suspended by a premeditated interruption, and whose criminality was evidently in the prejudice, rather than the conviction, of the auditory. He yielded, however, to the reiterated and impassioned appeals of the majority of the Chamber ; he pretended to believe there was more evil intention in the words than he at first thought, and he therefore called Manuel to order. But this satisfaction given to the irritation of the royalists, seemed to them inadequate to the outrage, as it certainly was to their own anger

Violent scene in the Chamber.

They rose in a mass, quitted their benches, descended in groups into the vacant space of the hall at the foot of the tribune, rushed in crowds up the steps which led to the seat of the president, gesticulating, vociferating, and reproaching him for his patience. One amongst them, whose boiling blood deprived him at the moment of every sense of justice and magnanimity towards a colleague who was alone against a multitude, rushed to the tribune, pushed Manuel aside, cut short the words with which he was vainly endeavouring to justify himself, and cried out for vengeance for France and the army, against language which calumniated them in the presence of France and of Europe! His voice was lost in the noise; but other members of the right, following his example, seized on the tribune by assault, and addressed themselves sometimes to the Assembly, sometimes to the president, loudly demanding that the pretended apostle of regicide should be instantly driven from the Chamber. It seemed from their impatience, and the emulation of their outcries, as if the scaffold of a king was about to be erected again upon the *Place de la Revolution*, and that each of them was ready to defy the sword of the executioner, and to precipitate himself before the wheels of the car which was conveying the victim to his death. If a few hundred of these royalists, so eager to-day in catching at an equivocal word, and avenging it by the immolation of an unprotected man, had exhibited on the 21st January but one-half of this heroism, the blood of Louis XVI. would not have been shed. But such are men, the more implacable in their resentment for being silent and inactive in the hour of danger.

XXVI.

Manuel, in the meantime, sure of the innocence of the phrase he intended to pronounce, and upon whom the interruption alone had thrown doubt and criminality, demanded with voice, attitude, and gesture, to be allowed to finish it. His imperturbable countenance, expressive of his courage, of his quiet conscience, and even of his contempt for his accusers, increased instead of allaying the fury of the royalists. They took

Mannet's letter to the President.

his calmness for insolence, and his patience for defiance. Bursts of rage and explosions of invective closed his mouth every time he attempted to utter a word amidst the tumult. After fruitless efforts to obtain a moment's silence the president gave the usual signal of his powerless and distressing position, by putting on his hat, and suspending the debate.

On this the royalists rushed out of the hall, to go and concert in their bureaux the accusation and the expulsion of the orator. Manuel descended from the tribune, and went slowly to his seat, where his colleagues of the Opposition, Laffitte, Dupont de l'Eure, Gerard, Foy, and Chauvelin gathered round him, and seemed by their attitude, which exhibited at once indignation and dismay, to deplore the fury and injustice of his enemies. He sat down in the midst of them, and while his opponents were drawing up outside the Chamber the accusation that called for his proscription, he wrote the following letter to the president, an incontestible evidence of innocence under the hand of a man who was incapable of fear:—

“ M. PRESIDENT,

“ The state of irritation in which a part of the Assembly is plunged, makes me apprehensive of not being able to find at this sitting a moment of silence to terminate a sentiment which, I hope, will no longer be disapproved of by candid hearers the moment my real meaning is known; such as I wished to express it, such as might have been reasonably anticipated from me, and such, finally, as you could not, without injustice, have blamed me for yourself, if you had on this, as on another occasion, permitted me to finish my sentence.

“ The minister of foreign affairs contended that there was a sufficient reason for war in the necessity for preventing in Spain catastrophes similar to those which have stained with blood the revolutions of England and of France. I replied that the method he adopted appeared to me precisely the one best calculated to augment rather than diminish those dangers, and I cited in proof of what I said the events which had brought

Manuel's exculpation.

about the dethronement of the Stuarts, and the death of the unhappy Louis XVI.

"I asked if it was forgotten that, in France, this misfortune had been preceded by the armed intervention of the Prussians and Austrians, and I recalled a fact known to everyone, that it was then *revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending herself by new powers and fresh energy*——

"At this moment I was interrupted, but if I had not been my sentence would have terminated thus: *Then revolutionary France feeling the necessity of defending herself by new powers and fresh energy, threw all the masses into a state of commotion, excited all the popular passions, and thus produced terrible excesses and a deplorable catastrophe in the midst of a noble resistance.*

"Nobody was better prepared than myself for all the prejudices and even the violence of a portion of the members of this Chamber, whose principles and whose efforts I have considered it my duty to combat with energy, because I think, in my heart and my conscience, that these efforts and principles compromise at once the interests of the throne and of the nation. But I must not be deprived, by interruptions and a tumult which you yourself have found inexcusable, of the right of being heard before I am judged. I will not permit even unprincipled party-feeling to attribute to me the absurd project of basely insulting, without motive or interest, the misfortunes of august victims whose destiny has afflicted every generous heart. When my defence is heard I shall brave the judgment of impassioned men, as I shall await without fear the verdict of the just .

"I have the honour to be, M. President,

"Your most humble servant,

February 26, 1823.

"MANUEL."

XXVII

This letter, communicated as he wrote it to the most faithful and intrepid leaders of the Opposition, met with their approbation. The sitting was resumed with that anxious

Proceedings of the Royalists.

silence which resembles the remorse of assemblies after some unseasonable excess. M. Forbin des Essarts, an orator from the South, who, in a different cause, recalled the fire and passion of Isnard in the convention, was the first to ascend the tribune, and to demand the expulsion of the orator who had, he said, pronounced "such infamous words, inasmuch as no regulation could condemn an assembly to the punishment of listening to a man whose maxims and whose speeches excite or justify regicide!"

Manuel attempted to reply from the tribune, but the royalists forbade all access to it by their clamours and their gestures. "No, no!" they exclaimed, "down from the tribune the unworthy wretch! Down with the regicide!" Deafened by these cries, and assailed by these menaces, Manuel, who had got so far as the tribune, gave up the hope of making himself heard from it, and turning towards the president he held forward the letter he had written and retired to his place. The majority thought from this gesture that he was offering his resignation as deputy, and exclaimed from all parts of the hall: "He is doing justice on himself, he is relieving us from his presence! Down with the apologist of the scaffolds of kings!" It was in vain that the president begged the Assembly to hear the letter at least which the accused had transmitted to him; the sound of his voice renewed the tumult, and it was with difficulty that he could obtain the adjournment till the following day of the motion for exclusion. The ultra-royalists celebrated this suppression of the right of speaking as a victory, and retired, exclaiming "*Vivent les Bourbons!*"

XXVIII.

The night did not moderate either their indignation or their vengeance. M. de Labourdonnaie, leader of the extreme right, claimed the honour of irritating and gratifying his party, instead of admonishing and appeasing it. Being an impassioned man, passion was his only justice. He made a motion in his own name for expulsion, and reading an act of accusation written during the night, in which he identified the man with the

Motion for Manuel's expulsion.

orator, and his private opinions with his public speeches, he demanded that the Chamber should banish Manuel from its body, and deprive him of the title of deputy, as an expiation and an example against similar attempts!

Being defended by some moderate members of the left and of the centre, and again attacked by M. Hyde de Neuville, and by M. de Lalot, Manuel with difficulty obtained permission to be heard, from a sense of common decency rather than of justice on the part of his colleagues.

"Gentlemen," he said, "my wish in appearing in this tribune, and that which most nearly concerns me, is that you should be fully convinced that I am not influenced by the hope, or even by the desire, to assuage the storm which has been raised against me. I simply mean to prove that the proposed measure is an act of violence that nothing can justify, and which I have in no respect provoked.

"My adversaries have felt that it would be difficult to recognise the crime of which they accuse me in the inculcated phrases of the speech which I have pronounced: therefore, by an artifice which I do not wish to qualify as it merits, they have taken good care not to cite those phrases, but have had recourse to other grounds of accusation; they have carefully reproduced before you allegations lately destined to serve a project which they have been compelled to abandon. They expected at the commencement of the session to be able to annul the proceedings of the two colleges by which I was elected. They loudly boasted of this beforehand; and they went everywhere canvassing for protests for this purpose. They were obliged to give up this illegal attempt, but they have now become bolder: they avail themselves of new imputations: I have, they assert, preached regicide.

"What! I preach regicide, at the very moment I am endeavouring to turn you from doing that which may lead to it. I preach regicide in exhorting you to prevent it! In truth, gentlemen, to suppose that the object of my argument was to counsel regicide was committing a great absurdity with respect to me. What words of mine could lead you to imagine it? What interest, moreover, could induce me to support this doc

His further explanations,

trine? But the very words I have made use of do not even leave you this pitiful resource. I said that, at the moment when the invasion of the Austrians and Prussians was threatening our country, revolutionary France felt that she was under the necessity of defending herself by new powers and fresh energies.

"I have much pleasure in declaring to the Chamber, that yesterday before I wrote to the president the letter that you would not hear read, I had consulted a good many of my colleagues, as well as the notes of several reporters, as to the precise text of my words; all, with the exception of the editor of the *Moniteur*, heard the word *powers*, and I am certain, in fact, that I made use of this word. But this is of little consequence, and I accept either of the expressions quoted. It is evident that I was preparing by the premises the conclusion I was about to draw. I said that it was necessary, with respect to Spain, to avoid employing those means which, by striking a terror into revolutions, make them recur in their defence to the most terrible resources, pushing them so as to exasperate all the passions, to stir up the masses, and thus to lead them into a track wherein the most enlightened understandings cannot perceive the point at which they can stop. This is what the writings even of our adversaries go to prove. Read the memoirs of the Marquis de Riviere, and those of M. de Ferriere, and you will find that both of them attribute the death of the King to the foreign invasion, and that they show the origin of the evil to be derived from the very remedy by which it was proposed to cure it. But even admitting that my expressions may have been slightly equivocal, custom, prudence, and justice all require at least that prior to condemning me for a phrase but just commenced, in the midst of an extempore speech, on a question so grave in itself, and complicated by so many circumstances, I should be heard to the end. This you would not permit; you refused to let me continue; and under these circumstances have you a right to interpret in your own way an unfinished sentence?

"But, gentlemen, you speak of regicide! Do you then forget that I must, from my age, be a greater stranger than

And defiance of his opponents.

you, to the events of the revolution? I was then with the army, in those ranks wherein you contend that the national honour had taken refuge; not that I accept for that army a compliment paid to it at the expense of the nation. French honour prevailed everywhere, and to whatever excesses the revolution may have been carried we shall never forget that, called for as it was by the wishes of France, defended by her at the price of her blood, and of immense sacrifices, this revolution left her, in exchange, an imperishable glory and infinite benefits. We shall never forget that neither you nor we now exist but by the results it has produced—sacred results, which all the efforts of its enemies cannot and will not be able to deprive us of. I repeat it," he energetically added; "far from me be the thought of monopolising for the army alone the glorious titles won by the whole of this great and generous nation; but this, however, is true, that during the whole course of a sanguinary revolution, the army has shed no other blood than its own and that of the enemy.

"My whole life will therefore, if necessary, give an answer to your reproaches. But I have combated with energy in this tribune the party inimical to the revolution. This is my great fault, this is my crime, and I disdain to offer a defence for it. If I had exhibited less warmth, less courage perhaps, you would have allowed more reprehensible phrases to pass unnoticed. I know this, but I have been long resigned to all the consequences of my language. I have never had but one object, to do my duty, and this object I have accomplished in defiance of all consequences.

"Do you wish me, gentlemen, to prove to you that party spirit alone, and not a spirit of justice, is at this moment persecuting me? In one of your preceding sittings a member declared from this tribune that the charter was an odious guarantee, and you listened to him in silence.

"Spare yourselves, my colleagues," he added, turning towards the left, "the trouble of discussion to display this truth. Do they not feel it as well as you do yourselves? Do they not know as well as you, that my intentions were irreproachable? If I had not a quiet conscience," he said, addressing the right,

Debate on the motion for exclusion.

"should I come to this tribune to combat and to brave your murmurs? It is that which sustains my courage. With such a support we fear no one, not even those who constitute themselves our judges. Ah, you wish to expel me from this Assembly! Well, do so! I know that the same thing can happen now which occurred thirty years ago. The passions are the same. I shall be your first victim, and may I be your last! And should I, the victim of your fury, ever entertain a desire for vengeance, I shall bequeath to your own passions the duty of avenging me."

The extreme left of the Assembly, Lafitte, Casimir Perier, Lafayette, Chauvelin, Gerard, Demarçay, Dupont (de l'Eure) and their friends, alone applauded these words, equally generous and inoffensive. M. Dudon, who affected amongst the royalists the part of Benjamin Constant amongst the liberals, lending his boldness to their excesses, and his intellect to their passions—seconded the motion of M. de Labourdonnaie, for exclusion, and had it immediately referred to a committee of the bureaux. This committee sufficiently exhibited its partiality three days after, by nominating M. de Labourdonnaie himself to report its proceedings, a post which his character of accuser ought to have interdicted him from.

The debate commenced on the 3rd March. The commotion produced in Paris, and throughout all France, by this first act of proscription attempted by the Chamber, under the auspices of the new ministry, had agitated the young men and the people generally, and collected crowds upon the quays, upon the bridge, upon all the approaches, and in all the public galleries of the Assembly. They wished to ascertain to what excess of temerity the royalist majority would carry its imitation of the parliamentary proscriptions, which were the signal of penal proscriptions in the convention, and to what degree of irritation the persecution of one of their most cherished orators would carry the resentment of the liberals; it was the civil war of opinion declared in the sanctuary of freedom and the laws, prior to a more open appeal to arms. Votes were first to be counted before physical force was had recourse to. The people were indignant without being alarmed; the King and his ministers were afflicted without daring to intervene; the

Speeches on both sides.

ultra-royalists, blinded by party spirit, hurried from one act of violence to another, through that emulation of zeal which afflicts fanatical or ambitious people with occasional madness.

XXIX

M. de Saint Aulaire, father-in-law to M. Decazes, opened the debate, by some observations more irritating than convincing, addressed to the majority. His eloquence, though bold, was not sufficiently powerful for this great cause; it contained epigrams against the ministry, instead of thunders against the excesses of the assemblies. M. Royer Collard, by his philosophy, by his unsuspected attachment to the crown, by his purity from every revolutionary taint, by the somewhat august character of his eloquence, was the man looked to by all as an arbiter between the two parties which were generally reconciled at his voice. His speech was not deficient in reason, but it wanted fire. His too studied arguments fell from his pages cold upon the ear. He did not excite others, because he was not himself excited by the enthusiasm of extempore speaking; that whirlwind of the real orator, who when his own soul is in a state of excitement, inspires with his own feelings assemblies and whole nations. He gave, however, a powerful testimony to the innocence of Manuel, by stating, that he had heard without favour, as without prejudice, the phrase incriminated by his enemies, and his firm conviction was, that Manuel had neither justified nor provoked regicide.

XXX

M. Hyde de Neuville, forgetting that exclusions were the prelude to those proscriptions of which he himself had been the victim, contended for the necessity of purging the national representation of a member unworthy of sharing in its deliberations. He adjured the silent ministers to march boldly in the way of truth, both within and without the Chamber. He summed up his arguments with a motion for the exclusion of Manuel for twelve months. Manuel then ascended the

Manuel disclaims the authority of the Chamber.

tribune, not to justify or defend himself, but to protest in the face of his country :

"Gentlemen," he said, "even if I had any intention of justifying myself before you on the accusation brought against me, the zeal of my honourable friends would have anticipated me in the task. The absence of all right, the usurpation and arbitrary proceedings of the majority, together with the innocence of my intentions, have all been perfectly established by them ; and though one of my defenders, led astray, doubtless, by old feelings, has allowed some expressions of disapprobation to escape at the moment I was braving such a torrent of anger, I can, for my own part, disdain this act of weakness or of malice. I shall not give my adversaries the satisfaction of seeing me placed upon a stool of repentance from which they have not the right to take me down. Let others seek to debase the national representation, they have doubtless a culpable interest in so doing ; but, inspired by a very different sentiment, I shall do everything that depends upon me to preserve its lustre.

"I therefore declare that I do not recognise in any one here the right to accuse, or condemn me. It is in vain that I look around for judges ; I can only find accusers. I do not expect an act of justice, but resign myself to an act of vengeance. I profess every respect for the superior powers of this country, but I respect still more the laws which have established them ; and their power ceases in my eyes at the instant when, in contempt of those laws, they usurp those rights to which they are not legally entitled.

"In such a state of things I know not if submission be an act of prudence ; but this I know, that when resistance is a right, it also becomes a duty. It is especially a duty for those who, like us, ought to know better than any one else the extent of their rights ; and it is a duty for me, in particular, who ought to show myself worthy of those citizens of La Vendée who have given to France so noble an example of courage and independence, by twice granting me their suffrages.

"Having taken my seat in this Chamber by the will of those who had the right to send me here, I shall only quit

Great popular excitement.

it through the violence of those who have not the right to exclude me; and should this resolution subject me to the greatest dangers, I shall console myself with the reflection that the field of liberty has been occasionally fertilized by generous blood!"

XXXI

These last words of the deputy, already proscribed in the hearts of the royalists, were received by the opposition as a final adieu to the tribune and to liberty, and by the members of the majority as an importunate effusion of eloquence. The motion for expulsion was carried by a frightful majority. "What an infamous *coup d'état*!" exclaimed Lafayette. "Unhappy men!" cried General Foy, "you have destroyed the representative government!" "I demand for the accused," said Casimir Perier, "the right of challenging the votes of his enemies!" "The charter is destroyed," exclaimed General Demargay, with an expressive gesture. "This Chamber is filled with enemies of the revolution, myrmidons of the counter-revolution!" "We all make common cause with Manuel!" Lafayette again exclaimed. "Yes, yes! all!" cried sixty members of the left, rising in their places. These cries, these protests, these apostrophes, these commotions, this fury of the Chamber, were communicated as if by electricity from the hall to the galleries, from the galleries to the lobbies, from the lobbies to the crowds assembled at the doors of the Chamber of Deputies, and along the quays. It was in vain that some squadrons of cavalry were sent to restrain, to drive back, and to disperse them. The crowds, immovable from morning till night, awaited, like the vanguard of a whole people, for the promulgation of the vote of the Chamber. When this vote was made known to the multitude, it replied by tumultuous cries of "Long live Manuel! Long live the Opposition!" and taking the direction of the Rue St. Honoré. it stopped in a compact mass before the residence of the expelled deputy, and avenged him by prolonged acclamations for the repudiation of the Chamber. Of an orator who was scarcely popular, royalist violence had made a tribune of the people, and a leader of faction. The

Manuel refuses to retire

night alone produced, not quiet in the minds of the multitude, but silence in the public places. The people awaited the following day with hope, and the government with uneasiness. If Manuel was decided on disobeying the illegal vote of the Assembly, it would be necessary to employ force, and force might produce resistance. The second Mirabeau might say with the first: "I remain here by the authority of the people!" The troops were confined to their barracks; and in the approaches to the Chamber the guards and ushers were ordered to prevent the entrance of the proscribed deputy. But he eluded their vigilance, by entering without being recognised, amid a group of his friends who surrounded him, and he suddenly appeared in his costume, seated on his bench, between Casimir Perière and General Demargay.

At this apparition the majority became troubled. The president and the most violent members of the right consulted together on the resolution they should take. The ministers at the foot of the tribune communicated by their emissaries with the president. The public galleries were crowded with spectators, who were suspended between curiosity and terror, in expectation of some unknown and perhaps tragical event. At the usual hour of opening, M. Ravez announced to the Assembly, with a grave voice, that the deputy who had been interdicted from his functions had violated the authority of the Chamber, and turning towards the bench on which Manuel was sitting, he summoned him to retire. "I announced yesterday," replied Manuel, rising, "that I would yield only to force, and I am come to keep my word." He then sat down again.

The president suggested that the Assembly should evacuate the hall, and retire into the bureaux, in order to execute during this suspension of the sitting the sentence it had pronounced, and the ministers followed the president. The opposition remained, and collected round Manuel. A silence, at once respectful and threatening, prevailed in the hall, and seemed to be brooding over gloomy and stern resolutions. After some time the door opened, and the principal usher of the Chamber, followed by a cortege of his colleagues, entered with a paper in

National Guards introduced.

his hand. With a loud voice he read an order from the president, directing him to make Manuel retire, and in case of resistance to call in the aid of the armed force. "Your order is illegal," replied the deputy; "I shall not obey it."

The pacific cortege retired, the door was closed after it, and the silence and anxiety were redoubled. Military footsteps were then heard in the outer halls: they approached, the folding doors were thrown open, and a platoon of National Guards and Veterans entered the hall, fully armed and accoutred, and were drawn up fronting the bench where the deputy was sitting. A cry of indignation arose from the ranks of the opposition which surrounded Manuel. Lafayette made a gesture of horror on seeing that National Guard, which had been armed by the people and by the revolution, lending its arms to violate that revolution and the representation of the people. The National Guardsmen, somewhat shaken by the place, by the features of their popular men, by the appeals to their patriotism, and by the responsibility which, on the following day, would rest upon their names, looked down upon the ground and continued motionless. The officer of Veterans advanced alone towards the bench where he was told the expelled deputy was sitting; he intreated him to spare his party the painful necessity of employing force. "We do not recognise the troops of the line in this place," said General Foy, addressing him with authority; "we only know the National Guard; communicate your orders to them." The officer abashed, retired to consult the president. He soon returned with directions to execute by force the orders he had received. He read this order again, but it was still resisted; and the officer, turning towards the captain of the National Guard, commanded him to seize the contumacious deputy on his bench. The captain, in his turn, ordered a sergeant named Mercier, of the detachment of the National Guards, to execute the arrest; but the sergeant was intimidated by the voices, the gestures, the rebukes, and the private signals of the eighty members of the opposition standing before him,—almost all generals, orators, great names of the Republic, the Empire, and the Monarchy, popular bankers, and respectable merchants,

They refuse to expel him.

of the capital,—men whom he heard celebrated every day as great citizens,—whom he would meet the day after in business, in the theatres, at the Exchange,—everywhere, in short,—and who deterred him on their responsibility from the sacrilege he was about to commit in arresting their colleague, and assaulting their inviolability with arms in his hands; he seemed to hesitate for a moment between disobedience to his officer,—which would be a breach of discipline,—and obedience, which would be a crime against the representation. He looked at his soldiers, all citizens like himself, and endeavoured to read their thoughts in their eyes to confirm his own. Their looks met, and mutual intelligence and equal repugnance were the result. Their attitude, their immobility, their faces turned repulsively from the benches which they were ordered to assault, and their arms resting by their sides, all indicate their unwillingness, which is understood by the opposition and by the public galleries. Cries of “*Vive la Garde Nationale!*” issue from all parts of the hall, and applaud the victory of public sentiment over military discipline. The arms of the citizen fall to pieces in the hands of the government; the *coup d'état* of the majority may be changed into a *coup d'état* of the people. The royalists tremble in their turn, lest the violence they have invoked should explode in a sedition of the civic troops, and perhaps in a revolution of the Chamber. Manuel's colleagues clap their hands at the silent complicity of the National Guards. The officer of the Veterans hastens to acquaint the president and the ministers with his inability to execute the arrest by his detachment, and with the disobedience of Sergeant Mercier.

The defection of the soldiers of the line and the National Guard had been anticipated by the government. Thirty gendarmes—a select corps, professionally unpopular, and accustomed to act rigorously in civil commotions, without exception of rank or of cause—were kept in reserve in the lobbies under the command of their colonel, M. de Foucault, an officer resolved to devote his name and his life to the service of the King. They entered, carbines in hand, and drew up before the Veterans and the National Guards. Colonel Foucault

Manuel expelled from the Chamber.

advanced towards the bench of the left, which covered Manuel; he summoned the deputies who were standing before him not to protect their colleague any longer against the orders of the Chamber, and against the efforts of the National Guard.

"The National Guard!" cried Lafayette; "it is false! Let it enjoy all its glory!" The voices and attitudes of the deputies indicated that they would not obey this summons, which was vainly renewed three times by M. de Foucault. "I shall obey the third no more than the first," said Manuel showing himself. "You must use force." "Well, then!" said the colonel, half turning towards his gendarmes, and pointing towards the excluded deputy, "seize that man ~~there~~!" and ascending with his soldiers the steps which separated him from Manuel, he approached him and requested him to descend. Manuel, who was desirous that some physical outrage should signalise in his person the brutality of power, and indicate him as the victim of violence, and the idol of the people, remained motionless; M. de Foucault, therefore, seized him by the arm, and two gendarmes by the collar of his coat, with the intention of dragging him down. The deputies who surrounded him raised their hands to Heaven,—uttered cries of indignation,—endeavoured to cover him with their bodies, and to contend for him with the soldiers; but he yielded at length and quitted the hall, followed by a cortege of the whole opposition, who declared themselves conjointly responsible for his inviolability, and victims of the assault committed upon one of their members.

While Manuel, accompanied by Dupont (de l'Eure) got into a carriage and returned to his residence, his colleagues, having assembled at the house of one of the Paris deputies, at that time celebrated, though since unknown, named Gevaudan, drew up and signed the following protest:—

"We, the undersigned members of the Chamber of Deputies of the departments, declare that we could not behold without profound grief, and a feeling of indignation which it is our duty to manifest before all France, the illegal act hostile to the charter, to the royal prerogative, and to all the principles of representative government, which has outraged the integrity

Protest from the minority.

of the national representation, and violated in the person of a deputy the guarantees secured to all, as well as the rights of the electors and of all French citizens.

" We declare in the face of the country that the Chamber of Deputies has, by its acts, exceeded the legal sphere and limit of its authority.

" We declare that the doctrine professed by the committee which has proposed the expulsion of one of our colleagues, and in conformity with which this measure has been adopted, is an idea subversive of all justice and all social order; that the principles emitted in the report of the committee, on the unlimited and retroactive authority of the Chamber, are nothing but subversive principles which, at another period, have produced the most odious crimes; that the monstrous confusion in the functions of legislators, accusers, reporters, jurors, and judges, is a criminal attempt, unexampled except in the very proceeding the memory of which has served as a pretext for annulling the powers of M. Manuel; that those protecting forms with which the law shields accused persons of the greatest obscurity, and even the call of the house, which on important occasions can alone guarantee the independence of the votes, have all been rejected with passionate and turbulent obstinacy.

" Considering the resolution come to yesterday, the 3rd March, against our colleague, as the first step of a faction to place itself by violence above all forms, and to break through all the restraints which our fundamental compact had imposed upon it:

" Convinced that this first step is only the prelude to that system which is leading France into an unjust foreign war, in order to consummate the counter-revolution at home, and to lay open our territory to a foreign occupation.

" Not wishing to become accomplices in the misfortunes which this faction cannot fail to attract upon our country,

" We protest against all the illegal and unconstitutional measures taken during some days past, for the expulsion of M. Manuel, deputy of La Vendée, and against the violence with which he was dragged from amidst the Chamber of Deputies."

They absent themselves from the Chamber.

Here follow the signatures of sixty-two deputies : General Foy, MM. Méchin, Labbey de Pompierre, Lecarlier, Destutt de Trâcy, Lefebvre Gineau, De la Tour-du-Pin, Pavée de Vandœuvre, Vernier, Adam, De la Pommeraie, Pougeard du Limbert, General Sébastiani, De Chauvelin, Caumartin, Hernoux, Auguste de Saint Aignan, Dupont (de l'Eure), De Kératry, De Bondy, Savoye Rollin, Tasseyre, Jobez, Louis de Saint Aignan, Alexandre Périer, Gautret, Pilastre, Etienne, Raulin, Saulnier, Villemain, Tronchon, Bastarrèche, De Saglio, Voyer d'Argenson, Kœchlin, Bignon, Georges de Lafayette, General de la Poype, General de Thiard, General Maynaud de Lavaux, Nourrisson, General Gérard, Cassimir Périer, Gévaudan, Gabriel Delessert, Gaspard God, Laffitte, Alexandre de Laborde, Stanislas de Girardin, Charles de Lameth, Cabanon, Leseigneur, De la Roche, De l'Aistre, Bouchard Descarnaux, De Jouvencel, General de Lafayette, Gilbert des Voysins, Clerc de Lassale, General Demarçay.

This protest, which was presented on the following day to the president of the Assembly, to be read to the Chamber, was not even honoured with a reading there ; and the deputies who had signed it quitted the Chamber, not to enter it again during the whole session, thus proscribing themselves, in order to annul by their absence the legality of its deliberations, and to avenge themselves on its violence, by rendering the laws themselves illegal.

The people, excited for a moment by the drama which was enacted in the Chamber, returned at length, not to indifference, but to quietness. They were satisfied with decreeing civic crowns to Sergeant Mercier, who fell back into the obscurity from which the accidental occurrence of this day had for a moment drawn him.

The law of subsidies proposed by the ministry for the Spanish war, was passed without opposition. The army of one hundred thousand men, divided into five *corps d'armée*, under the orders of Marshal Oudinot, of General Molitor, of Prince Hohenlohe, of Marshal Moncey, and of General Bordesoulle, assembled under the command in chief of the Duke d'Angoulême. General Guilleminot, one of those rare officers of the

The expeditionary army.

Republic and of the Empire, who joined intelligence and political aptitude to his military merit, was appointed major-general. This title, which made him the central point of the army, inspired confidence in the generalissimo, a modest, studious, and prudent prince, whose bravery and virtues were known ; but who could only imbibe his military inspirations in extended warfare from the pupils and the companions of Napoleon. M. de Chateaubriand, whose principal object in this campaign was to blend together, under the fire of a national and dynastic war, the old and new officers of the country, and to give a personal weapon to the Bourbons, met with the same idea in the Duke d'Angoulême. Party spirit had nothing to do with the choice of the generals charged under this prince with the different commands. Services and fame were the only recommendations ; and the military spirit of all was relied on to stifle the spirit of faction

BOOK FORTY-FIRST.

Preparations for the Spanish war—Concentration of the army on the frontier
—Proceedings of the Opposition ; it endeavours to send an accredited agent to the Spanish revolutionists, but fails—Transmission of assistance of every sort to Spain—False alarm of the French ministry ; suspension of the Major-General Guilleminot ; Remonstrances of the Duke d'Angoulême—The passage of the Bidassoa is decided on ; improvidence of the ministry with respect to army supplies—M. Ouvrard arrives at head-quarters to assist the Commander-in-Chief ; his financial character in the expedition—Passage of the Bidassoa ; the refugee corps of Colonel Fabvier attempts to seduce the army, but is dispersed by artillery—Attitude of England ; M. de Chateaubriand in London ; his fluctuation, his correspondence with M. de Marcellus—Political views of Mr. Canning—Success of the army of intervention ; its entrance into Madrid ; the Constitutionals retire with Ferdinand to the Isle of Leon—The Duke d'Angoulême arrives before Cadiz ; pacific proclamation of Andujar ; operations of the siege ; capitulation of the city—Ferdinand is delivered ; his duplicity ; he annuls the proclamation of Andujar, and commences a sanguinary reaction—Letters of the Duke d'Angoulême to M. de Villèle—Continuation of royal vengeance in Spain—Last efforts of Riego ; dramatic incidents of his flight ; his arrest—Mock trial and stoical death of Riego—Triumphal return of the Duke d'Angoulême to France, and his arrival in Paris.

I.

On the 15th March the Duke d'Angoulême departed for the Pyrenees. While he was visiting his several corps to concentrate them under his hand on the extreme frontier, according as they arrived from their respective garrisons, a sudden and mysterious panic seized on the council of ministers at Paris, and instilled into the public mind, as well as into the first movements of the army, alarm, indecision, and distrust, which might have overturned all the plans of the government.

The Carbonari of Paris, under the direction of Lafayette

and Manuel, felt, since the abortive conspiracies of Béfort, Saumur, and Paris, that their cause must be decided in Spain alone, and that a friendly and concerted agreement between the revolution at Paris and the revolution at Madrid, was the only conspiracy which could enable one of these revolutions to triumph by means of the other. They had, in consequence, deliberated on accrediting and maintaining with the leaders of the Cortes an agent, secret, safe, and of high character; who, by his moral authority might inspire, and impress upon the Spanish government counsels the best calculated to produce the triumph of the European liberals, and to disconcert those of the royalists of France. Their choice, says M. de Vaulabelle, the man most competent to unravel these mysteries, fell upon Benjamin Constant. This politician, who was excluded just then from the Chamber by the expiration of his term of election, was admirably adapted for this hidden diplomacy, which was to disturb all Europe, and to collect the elements of civil tempests against the Bourbons. Born in Switzerland, but claiming France as his country by descent; invested by party-spirit with a reputation beyond his talents, but still endowed with a keen and brilliant intellect, which insinuated itself, sometimes by sarcasm, sometimes by adulation, amongst parties the most opposite to each other; dark and dogmatical in theory, but clear and flexible in matters of fact, an aristocrat in birth and manners, with the nobility, popular with the democrats, active, secret, acquainted with all languages, and knowing all the important men of Europe, Benjamin Constant was an ambassador just made for a European conspiracy to a revolution at Madrid, auxiliary to all conspiracies. But his prodigality and embarrassed circumstances were such that it was necessary to offer him, as an inducement to expatriate himself perhaps for ever, an indemnity for his income as a literary man, and for his habitation in France. Although the liberals allied at Paris against the Restoration possessed, as great proprietors, great manufacturers, or as bankers, immense and disposable riches, they purchased even their popularity with economy, and dispensed for their cause their speeches more freely than their fortunes. In an industrial age money is the foundation of human affairs.

The French army of insurrection.

The great religious or political deliriums are the heroism of poor times and poor countries. People sacrifice but little to ideas in those times and countries where, in order to conquer truth, powerful interests must be immolated. This is the secret of the miscarriage of numerous principles in these latter agitations of Europe. Poor and agricultural nations devote themselves, while industrial and wealthy nations get tired and withdraw from the contest. The revolutions of the human mind have their seasons.

With all the clubbing together of the bankers and opulent Carbonari of Paris, they could not raise a sufficient sum to secure the requisite indemnity for Benjamin Constant. They then addressed themselves to the Duke d'Orleans, who was always the confidant, but never an accomplice, of the mental reservations of the enemies of his family; but this prince declined taking into his pay a diplomacy against the King and his country. The plan consequently miscarried, and the projectors of it limited themselves to encouraging, by every possible means, the emigration to Spain of a certain number of conspirators acquitted in the trials of 1820 and 1823, of some officers dismissed from their regiments on suspicion of plotting, and of some young men, adventurers of Carbonarism, who had nothing to lose in their own country, but everything to hope for in desperate enterprises, and indicating to them places for assembling and arming on the Spanish frontier. They were to form a French army of insurrection there, under the tri-coloured flag, and they were to try and seduce the French army to revolt and defection. Colonel Fabvier, though a stranger to the secret societies, was designated to go and take the command-in-chief of this revolutionary army at a time fixed upon. This officer inflamed with patriotism and a love of glory, the two meteors of his fervid imagination, found even in the temerity of the enterprise a recompense for its perils. He made war like Hannibal against the Bourbons

Supposed military conspiracy.

II

Bodies of these refugees were already in active operation in the environs of Bilbao, and in the villages bordering on the Bidassoa, a small river which separates the two territories, to the number of some hundreds, in a sort of Carbonari Coblentz. Others were hastening by every route to join them. Some of these refugees had taken the road to Toulouse, carrying with them in their baggage the arms, the insignia, and the cockades intended for the seduction of the royal soldiers by the sight of their old colours. One of them, apprehensive of the vigilance of the police at the gates of the cities he passed through, and fearing that these material evidences of the conspiracy might be brought in evidence against him if they were discovered, had inscribed on the box which contained them the name and address of Colonel de Lostende, aide-de-camp to General Guilleminot, chief of the staff of the Duke d'Angoulême. This box being seized at the gates of Toulouse, at a moment when the vague rumour of a military conspiracy had cast a shadow over the minds of all, it induced a belief in the complicity of M. de Lostende, and perhaps of General Guilleminot himself. The police of the army privately communicated these sinister indications to the Paris police. The government, in a state of alarm, fancied itself walking upon mines. Marshal Victor, minister of war, ordered the arrest of Colonel de Lostende, the immediate suspension of Guilleminot, and hastened himself to the army, giving over his department to General Digeon, and investing himself in the urgency of the moment, and for the safety of the monarchy, with the title of major-general, without consulting the Duke d'Angoulême.

III

This prince, more clear-sighted and more confident in the loyalty of his companions in arms than the minister of war, the police, or the government, protested against the arrest of a brave officer under his own eyes, and against the removal of

Improvidence of the ministry.

General Guillemillot from his staff. He wrote to the King, his uncle, that all these chimeras would vanish at the first shot that was fired in action; he wrote to the Duchess d'Angoulême, that the step taken by Marshal Victor, his presence with the army, and the supremacy which this military minister arrogated to himself in the Duke's staff, compromised his glory and obliterated his authority. He wrote to the council of ministers, that the post of generalissimo of an army of observation, motionless and vainly threatening, did not suit the heir to the throne and the cousin of Ferdinand, and that he should resign his functions, if the army did not immediately take the field. These letters, the energetic impatience of M. de Chateaubriand, and the influence of the Duchess d'Angoulême over the mind of the King, constrained rather than convinced the prime minister. The prince at length received the authority to enter Spain from the 5th to the 10th of April

IV

But as it always happens in things done against the will, when we allow ourselves to be carried away by the event instead of taking the lead of it, there was nothing ready to enable the troops to take the field, in a country where they ought to present themselves as auxiliaries, and not as enemies, to spare the people, to respect their property, and not even to tread upon the soil except with prudence, lest it should rise under their footsteps as in the war of 1810. The French name had been odious in Spain since the invasion of an army of Napoleon which the earth had devoured. It was necessary to make this name popular again in the Peninsula, by proving, through discipline and generosity, to the inhabitants of the provinces, the difference between invading Frenchmen, coming to oppress and ravage an independent nation, in the name of an insatiable ambition, and French liberators, coming to the aid of a captive dynasty, and to pacify, in the name of a political and friendly principle, a country whose inhabitants were slaughtering each other. This constituted the success or the ruin of the enterprise; but the Duke d'Angoulême and his

In preparing for the advance of the army.

generals found themselves, through the improvidence and perpetual temporising of the ministry, utterly unable to provide for the wants of the army. Every thing was wanting, provisions, magazines, cartage, and forage, for an army of one hundred thousand combatants, with a numerous body of cavalry. They were on the point of being compelled to countermand the army to wait for supplies from the interior of France, or else on entering Spain to treat it as a conquered country. One hundred millions in specie had certainly been placed at the disposition of the generalissimo, in the military chests of the army, to pay for everything they should require on the route from Bayonne to Madrid, but no previous arrangement in the country they were about to traverse, no means of transport, no bargain with the Spanish contractors, had been entered into, or provided for beforehand. The troops were to march on the 5th April, and on the 3rd, the most painful anxiety prevailed in the army for want of provisions for men or horses even for another day. The princes and generals cursed the incapacity, or intentional inertness of those who, while they permitted the commencement of hostilities, had rendered them impossible at the very first step.

V

These embarrassments were the subjects of correspondence between the army and Paris, of conversation in the capital, of grief to the royalist partisans of the war, and of triumph to the liberals, rejoicing at obstacles which seemed to realise their predictions even before the war. One man, however, had the happy boldness to build his own fortune and importance upon these difficulties, and to present himself at the head-quarters of the Duke d'Angoulême to cut the knot which nobody would venture to untie.

This was M. Ouvrard, whose name, very much depreciated through ignorance or envy, like the names of those who are superior to, or who anticipate the age in which they live, deserves to be raised to its just elevation by the impartiality of history. M. Ouvrard was an adventurer in business, but in

M. Ouvrard the great speculator.

finance a man of genius. Genius consists only in two or three ideas, just, new, and simple, upon some subject either of theory or practice, caught a glimpse of before the rest of the world, by some man whose mental sight is of greater range and accuracy than the confused vision of his contemporaries. In mechanism, in science, in politics, in war, in administration, or in finance, inventors are nothing more than observers of more exquisite and more penetrating faculties. As Archimedes invented the lever; Newton, gravitation; Mirabeau, public opinion; Frederick the Great and Napoleon, modern war; and as Law invented credit, M. Ouvrard invented confidence and speculation, immeasurable and mysterious powers lying hid at the bottom of commerce, with the faculty of multiplying one hundred fold in a moment, for individuals, for companies, and for states, the powers and prodigies of private and public wealth. His mind, clear and penetrating, was seconded by a confident and persuasive elocution, by a boldness of enterprise which never hesitated, by a personal activity which transported him as rapidly as his own ideas from one extremity of Europe to the other, and by a happy combination of permanent youth, grace, and Grecian elegance, which impressed upon his features the facility and seduction of his intellect. His ideas equally just and new in commercial affairs, applied by him to improve his fortune, at the commencement of his life, and amidst the chaos of distresses, of resources, of furnishing armies, of speculations with the embarrassed treasury of the Directory and the Consulate, had acquired for him an amount of wealth which at times surpassed even that of the state. Thus he had squandered as enthusiastically as he had acquired it. The luxury of Lucullus, of Jacques Cœur, of the Medici, or of Fouquet, never surpassed his; women the most renowned for their wit and beauty, during that *renaissance* of our luxury and our vices, were the idols at whose shrines he had poured out his treasures. During his connection with Madame Tullien, the most beautiful of them all, he had several children by her, who might have been provided for by the expenditure alone of one of his fêtes. Courted, envied, and persecuted by turns by the different

M. Ouvrard arrives at head-quarters.

governments he had several times lost and again made incalculable fortunes. When Napoleon aspired, at the commencement of the Empire, to the universal monarchy of the continent by force of arms, M. Ouvrard effected, from power to power, a treaty at Madrid with the King of Spain, which obtained for him a monopoly of the mines and maritime commerce of the American colonies, and an annual profit of two hundred millions. He was enabled by this treaty, and this annual profit, to furnish loans and advances to the French treasury, for which he had engaged his credit. This treaty, too gigantic for a private individual, being known to Napoleon, was violently obstructed, and ultimately broken by a stroke of despotism. When deprived of the resources which the treaty with Spain was to have furnished him with, and called upon to make impossible payments to the French treasury, M. Ouvrard being ruined and imprisoned by the Emperor, had exhibited, in his resistance to the advances of power, a character, an obstinacy in captivity, and a carelessness in martyrdom, worthy of a more noble cause. The fall of Napoleon having restored him to liberty he began again to make his fortune under assumed names. His counsels were the secret source whence the finance ministers had drawn those ideas of credit which had freed our territory and restored our finances. Their genius was nothing more than his inspiration. When there was a dearth of ideas they went to him; he rectified those which were false, and lavished true ones upon them, spreading financial and commercial verity throughout all Europe. He alone would have directed and enriched, one by another, all the public treasuries of the continent, if his name, which his speculations had too much discredited, had had the same value in public opinion as his ideas. Such was the man that foresaw at a distance the inexperience and the embarrassment of a great expedition badly prepared. Knowing Spain well, acquainted with the machinery of a general commissariat from his youth, and perceiving at once a great service to render, and a great fortune to make, Ouvrard suddenly appeared at the head-quarters of the Duke d'Angoulême. The emergency was pressing, and allowed no time for deliberation, nor opportunity

M. Ouvrard undertakes to supply the army.

for vain repugnance. In a few hours M. Ouvrard had mastered the case, convinced the generals and commissaries of their helplessness, frightened the minister of war himself at his own responsibility, seduced the staff, gained over the prince, and concluded a treaty by which he took upon himself to find all the supplies, and all means of transport, for the expedition in Spain, on advantageous conditions, no doubt, for himself, but still more advantageous for the expedition, and which he alone could have dared and accomplished. Murmurs prevailed for a long time in France against this job, between a man suspected of corruption, and an army that was accused of yielding to corruption. But the virtue of the Duke d'Angoulême, the honour of his principal officers, and the probity of Marshal Victor repelled these suspicions.

The ministers, yielding to necessity, and to the ascendancy of the Duchess d'Angoulême at Paris, ratified the contract, revoked the nomination of Marshal Victor to the functions of major-general, restored Guillemot to the friendship of the commander-in-chief, and recalled the minister of war to Paris. The army received orders to advance to the Bidassoa, the Rubicon of the Restoration, where the two principles were going to meet face to face.

VI

Colonel Fabvier, chief of the skeleton army of insurrection, which the *Carbonari* of Paris had recruited to excite a military revolt on the banks of this river, had already crossed it to assume the command of this handful of refugees and conspirators. Instead of a *corps d'armée* which Colonel Fabvier expected to find at Lun, on the faith of the committees and *Ventes* of Paris, he only found there two hundred political convicts, fugitive adventurers, or deserters, half French and half Piedmontese and Neapolitans, who were driven to these desperate enterprises by exile, indigence, enthusiasm for liberty, the ruin of their cause in their own country, and an eagerness to return to it, even by an act more like tampering with the loyalty of others than an honourable expedition. They were

Proceedings of the refugees.

commanded by an old *chef de bataillon*, named Caron; they had in their ranks some young officers or sub-officers, compromised in abortive conspiracies, worthy of consideration in spite of the odium of their position, armed against their country on a foreign soil, excited by passions which hoodwinked their patriotism, ready to die for their cause, but mortified at the degrading office they had undertaken for it. Amongst them was Carrel, the young lieutenant who had hastened to meet M. de Lafayette at Befort; a soldier of heroic stamp, expatriated as well as Fabvier in that revolutionary emigration, both of them worthy, as they showed at a later period, to fight openly for the independence of a nation in Greece, or for the freedom of the world in Paris. Fabvier, though deceived in his expectations, was not a man to back out of an engagement, especially in the presence of danger. Having learned through his private correspondence with some accomplices in the regiments of the Duke d'Angoulême, that the army was ordered to concentrate on the 7th on the Bidassoa, and to cross the river on that day at the ferry of Behobie, he marched thither with his little corps on the night of the 6th, and took up a position on the abutments of a bridge which had been destroyed by the French in 1813, in front of the advanced guard of the ninth regiment of the line and within speaking distance. Fabvier's band, to make the greater impression on the eyes of the French soldiers, by the appearance of the old uniforms rendered so popular in the camp by the wars of the Empire, had dressed themselves in the regimentals of the grenadiers and light infantry of Napoleon's guard. One of them waved at their head the tri-coloured flag, which in battle, or at reviews, used of itself to call forth acclamations. They sang the *Marseillaise*, in chorus, that hymn in which patriotism and the revolution, blended together in the same notes and the same stanzas, have found an echo from infancy in the hearts of the peasant and the soldier. Their gestures, and their arms reversed, as well as their voices and their songs, were calculated to excite the enthusiasm and fraternity of both camps. The words comrades and brothers, addressed to the soldiers by the refugees, resounded from the Spanish to the French side of the river.

They are dispersed by artillery.

while the soldiers, astonished and motionless at this unexpected apparition of their old cause between them and Spain, gazed on the demonstration with saddened looks. But sedition had lost its power upon them by springing from an enemy's soil. They did not comprehend how the revolution could be a cause distinct from patriotism, or how those who called upon them as friends from the opposite bank should be found in arms before them in the ranks of their enemies. Both parties continued observing each other in silence thus for some time, and Fabvier was already indulging a hope that the tide which was beginning to retire would allow him to wade across the river, to seduce the royalist troops more effectually by close contact with his own soldiers, when General Vallin, who commanded this advanced guard, galloped up to a piece of artillery in battery on the French abutment of the broken bridge, and, without parleying an instant with the refugees, ordered them to be immediately fired upon. A round shot was accordingly fired across the river, but whether from accident or forbearance, it passed wide of the party. Fabvier and his men looking on the absence of a shower of grape shot as a signal of seditious complicity with them, waved their flag and cried "*Vive l'Artillerie !*" But the only answer they got was a discharge of grape shot, by order of General Vallin, which brought down an officer and several of the refugees. The rest stood their ground, however, till a third discharge tore the tri-coloured flag, killed the bearer of it, and covered the Spanish bank of the river with killed and wounded. The fate of Spain, of France, and of Europe thus depended on the resolution of the general, and the obedience of a few artillerymen. This first exchange of fire between the army of the King and the army of the revolution caused a long separation between the two causes. "General Vallin," said Louis XVIII., on seeing this brave soldier again after the campaign, "your cannon shot saved Europe!"

Fabvier's companions after this dispersed through Spain, vainly offering to the revolutionists services which were every where disdained or unrewarded; and enduring the wretched fate which armed emigration, whatever may be its cause, meets

M. de Chateaubriand in England,

with on the soil and under the flag of foreigners,—repulsion, contempt, ingratitude, and ultimately hatred, reproach, and treachery.

VII.

It was not without a lively opposition from the English cabinet, and an energetic impulsion from M. de Chateaubriand, that the French army had thus crossed the frontier. France was incurring a serious risk in this expedition, independent of the chances of the war itself; this was a rupture with England and the resentment of Mr. Canning. The memoirs of M. de Chateaubriand, and the yet unpublished revelations of M. de Marcellus, which are speedily to be laid before the public, supported by private and official correspondence between the principal personages of that period, throw the fullest light upon these transactions. M. de Marcellus, who was first Secretary of Embassy under M. de Chateaubriand, then *chargé d'affaires* at London after his ambassador had been called to the ministry, connected at the same time by affection with M. de Montmorency, and by his post with M. de Chateaubriand, and by a certain literary and diplomatic intimacy with Mr. Canning, was at once the confidant and intermediate agent in the transactions of these three statesmen with each other. The mystery of their different thoughts could not be penetrated by a more acute intellect; and no writer more veracious could reveal them, witness them better, understand them more thoroughly, or retrace them with greater accuracy. These are the three qualities of the intelligent and upright witnesses of history; they were united in this young diplomatist, who afterwards became his own historian.

VIII.

On arriving in London some months before the Spanish war, M. de Chateaubriand was quite a prey to fluctuation and uncertainty of mind. In the first resplendence of his first great political part, he enjoyed his elevation beyond everything. He flattered himself he would find in London a popularity of

Gets tired of his embassy,

glory analogous to that with which his genius and his party intoxicated him in Paris. He wished to attract into his own hands by that fame, by that importance, and also by the importance of his post in London, all the external affairs of Europe. Though susceptible of some of the vanities which are the littlenesses of great souls, his genius preserved him from those deliriums which sometimes seize upon persons that suddenly attain a high degree of fortune; he was from sensibility and melancholy a little morose, and was easily disenchanted and disgusted. He was not long in experiencing that weariness and sinking of the heart which often conquered in him the activity and ambition of the mind. England had disappointed his self-love. As a literary man he was only known there by name; as a political man he was only revealed to politicians by the excesses of his zeal, of his writings, and of his doctrines in support of the altar and the throne. These claims did not inspire a foreign country, indifferent to our quarrels, with the same infatuation as prevailed in Paris. They constituted M. de Chateaubriand, in the eyes of the English, a party-man rather than a statesman. In another point of view, his birth, though noble in France, was not sufficiently illustrious for the high nobility in an aristocratical country like England, and did not secure him beforehand the respect and deference of a portion of the community so entirely conventional. After a residence of some months, occupied in visiting that capital and that country where he had resided poor and unknown in his youth, this repose, this idleness, this isolation from the sound of his name, which was wafted to him on every echo in France, and which distance and indifference stifled in London, weighed heavily on him. He burned with impatience to return to the great political stage, and to recull absent attention to himself once more, by going back to France, resuming a parliamentary position in the Chamber of Peers, and regaining the ministry even against the wishes of the King. M. de Villèle and M. de Montmorency were acquainted with these unquiet of threatening dispositions of his mind, and dreaded them. His political and literary friends, and especially the eminent

And longs to return to France.

females, whose society he had always cultivated, as well from policy as inclination, as the partisans of his glory and the instruments of his fortune, such as Madame de Duras, Madame de Montcalm, Madame de Castellane, Madame Récamier, and several others, who were consulted by him as to a fitting opportunity for his return, all constantly represented to him that the time was not yet arrived,—that he had not yet earned by sufficient length of foreign service the right of returning to seize on the direction of the affairs of Europe,—that the King dreaded him,—that M. de Villèle was very glad to keep him at a distance,—that even M. de Montmorency, his friend, would be sorry to see in him again a rival and a competitor,—and that, finally, his fortune, not increased by paternal inheritance, was encumbered by debts scarcely covered by the pensions and salary which the court lavished upon him, and required to re-establish it three hundred thousand francs regular salary, besides numerous supplementary salaries for his embassy,—that he must wait, be patient, and deserve,—and that his party, his friends, and his admirers, would not let slip the proper moment to recall him, and to raise him to that elevation where public opinion, friendship, and love so ardently longed to see him.

IX

These temporising counsels did not, however, abate his longing; he had the home fever, the nostalgia of ambition. The soil and the sky of England were equally inimical to him. His sickly, unquiet, and dejected countenance, society and solitude by turns sought and shunned, the depression of his attitude, the brevity of his speech, the indolence of his pen, the gloomy dulness of his eyes,—everything about him at this period indicated the consumption of genius. He longed to leave England. Even the passion which then secretly devoured him for a young female artist of rare beauty, who had followed him to London, was not sufficient to retain him there.

- Scarcely, however, was M. de Chateaubriand aware of the

His wish to attend the Congress.

intention of the allied sovereigns to reassemble in congress at Verona, when, by one of those sudden and capricious changes, which may be referred to ambition as well as to natural temperament, he expressed in his conversations, in his confidential letters, and even in his despatches to M. de Villèle, an excessive opposition to any participation, on the part of France, in these deliberations in common on the affairs of Spain and of Europe. An insolent intermeddling of the Northern cabinets, he said, in the affairs of the South, compromising, curtailing, and mortifying France, who has her own sphere of action, which she ought to preserve independent and personal, to magnify and elevate her, by her sole and free settlement of her own interests, by the unbiassed will of her own kings, and by the single force of her own arms. He was even then inclined for an extension of the constitutional rights of the peoples of the south of Europe, and for a liberal alliance protective of these rights with England. He was connected by analogy of literary taste and political emulation with Mr. Canning,—enthusiastic and ambitious like himself,—and the popularity of this statesman, who was then in the opposition, seemed to him a model of life to be envied and imitated on his return to France. These two great men saw each other frequently, and being equally disgusted with the littleness of human affairs, and the envious mediocrity of men, they consoled themselves with the pleasures of imagination and friendship.

X.

But M. de Chateaubriand had scarcely been made acquainted with the names of the celebrated ministers and diplomatists whom the sovereigns brought with them, or who were accredited by the different courts to assist at this great European council, and had scarcely glanced at the great importance these personages were about to derive, in name and fortune, from this participation in the deliberations of Europe, when another sudden change of mind, situation, and ambition seized him, and he became madly anxious to attend the congress himself in the name of France. It was in vain that he

His efforts to accomplish it.

wrote to M. de Villèle and to M. de Montmorency, to convince them of the propriety and necessity of sending their English ambassador to Verona. He represented to them fruitlessly that, as all the principal envoys of all the principal powers, the Hardenbergs, the Capo d'Istrias, the Caramans, the Raynevals, the Laferronnays, the Metternichs, and the Castlereaghs, were either preceding or accompanying their masters to these conferences, it was indispensable that the French ambassador in London should also be invited there, under penalty of being degraded from his *prestige*, and of also mortifying England herself, by treating her with less deference than Vienna, Petersburg, Berlin, Turin, or Naples. The two ministers were deaf to these insinuations. M. de Villèle wished to have freedom of action at the congress, and not to compete with the brilliant popularity of an ambassador who would obliterate his own government. M. de Montmorency foresaw that on his return from a congress, where the pen and the eloquence of M. de Chateaubriand would have had the ascendancy and the fame which genius gives to diplomatic as well as to parliamentary deliberations, M. de Chateaubriand's superior intellect would constrain him to resign the ministry to him. He liked M. de Chateaubriand as a friend, but he dreaded him for the country at the head of affairs. He was anxious for the intervention, but he distrusted the ascendancy which the liberal opinions of Mr. Canning might exercise at this moment over the mind of M. de Chateaubriand. The King himself considered the matter in the same light as M. de Villèle and M. de Montmorency. He could not diminish, he did not dare to neglect, and he did not wish to magnify a man who was imposed upon him by his fame and by his party, but who, in reality, had neither attraction nor safety for him. Painfully affected by these refusals, M. de Chateaubriand resolved to make a final effort upon M. de Montmorency, to obtain from him the post of plenipotentiary at the congress. But, convinced of the inefficiency of letters, he sent M. de Marcellus, his first secretary of embassy, to Paris, charged with this desperate negotiation. "Go," he said to him, "and bring me back my nomination or my despair." M. de Marcellus arrived

He is at length successful.

at Paris with the conviction that it was still more dangerous to contradict than to satisfy the passion of his ambassador. Being intimately acquainted with M. de Montmorency, he represented to him that the discontent and exasperation of a man of so much importance as M. de Chateaubriand in the monarchy, constituted an element of mischief, and perhaps of ruin, in the government; that the frustrated ambition of such a character would not stop at the sacrifice of his post and his interest; that he would look upon a longer refusal as a sovereign injury; that no hierarchy, no feeling of obedience, no consideration whatever, in short, would induce him to stop in London; that M. de Montmorency would scarcely have gone to the congress when M. de Chateaubriand would arrive in Paris; that he would foment there in the ultra-royalist opposition party, and in the press, such diversions and such storms, that M. de Villèle, in order to allay them, would be compelled to sacrifice M. de Montmorency himself, and to give the department of foreign affairs to M. de Chateaubriand, and that the only means of restraining so ardent and so implacable a passion for employment was to give him the congress in order to save the government.

M. de Montmorency felt irritated, but comprehended the necessity of compliance; he preferred a troublesome colleague at Verona to a certain competitor at Paris. M. de Villèle and the King, more constrained also than convinced, yielded to the entreaties of M. de Montmorency. Eight days after M. de Marcellus delivered to his ambassador the nomination, of which he had given up all hope. The joy of this triumph was to M. de Chateaubriand equal to the anxiety of his wishes; but like all his other feelings it was of short duration, and mingled with anticipations of depression and disgust. *Ennui* is only the vacancy of the heart; the greater the sensibility the greater is the void, and the *ennui* of M. de Chateaubriand was immense. He travelled slowly towards Paris, retarding his journey, which occupied eight days, by long farewell interviews with the lady for whom love then shared his heart with glory and ambition.

His correspondence on Spanish affairs,

XI.

He had scarcely returned to Paris from the congress of Verona, and taken the helm of state, when that *ennui* was felt equally at the summit of his ambition as at the bottom. The private correspondence which passed between him and his confidant, M. de Marcellus, throws a new and thorough light at once upon the state of his mind and the progress of political events. We feel in every line of M. de Chateaubriand's letters, the disenchantment of the poet on the one hand, and on the other, the just views and irresistible will of the statesman, resolved to overcome all obstacles and to leave to his country an illustrious trace of his presence at the helm of affairs.

"Here I am at length upon a stormy stage," he wrote to M. de Marcellus on the 28th December, the day after he had joined the ministry. "I shall quit it, perhaps, soon, but at least I shall not quit it without honour."

"I have delivered your letter to Mr. Canning," replied M. de Marcellus. "*M. de Chateaubriand likes a crisis*," he said to me. "No," I replied to Mr. Canning; "but he wishes for a solution!"

"All the noise they are making in London against me," wrote M. de Chateaubriand on the 2nd January, 1823, "will pass away. England likes the sovereignty of the people, but *we shall never recognise it!* A crisis!, I neither like it nor fear it. France can face the world and fears nothing. Don't be alarmed either at the fall in the funds, or at the fulminations of the press; 'tis a crisis in fact, but success is at the end."

"I did not deceive you," wrote M. de Marcellus. "Mr. Canning, still irresolute, fluctuates between the monarchical opinions which made his early fame, and popular favour which opens to him a more certain road to power. But as he listens above all to the echo of liberal opinions, and spreads his sail to catch the prevailing breeze, we can see beforehand what side he will take. The pupil of Pitt, and a

Mr. Canning hostile to intervention.

conservative up to the present, he is about to become half liberal, and will adopt democratic principles if they prevail here,—above all, he hates the aristocracy,—the King does not like him; but the people, smitten with his talents, have placed him where he is, and they will support him there if he yields to their infatuation."

"Let them talk," wrote M. de Chateaubriand; "the ill-humour of Mr Canning and of the English government will pass away, and it matters little if it does not. Let us deliver Ferdinand, and keep him in our hands, and we shall be in a condition to brave all threats. What will the English frigates do in the Bay of Cadiz? They will either force the blockade, and that will lead to hostilities,—for you may rest assured that so long as I shall be in the ministry, I shall never allow the French flag to be insulted;—or else these frigates will do nothing; but then it is evident that their presence alone will encourage the Cortes to resistance, and so prolong the captivity of Ferdinand. Is that neutrality?"

And further on, after the memorable speech of Mr Canning in the House of Commons, in which this minister unchained the winds upon Europe, and offered up fruitless, but high-sounding wishes for the triumph of the Cortes:

"The storm has at length burst upon us," he wrote. "I heard it rumbling. Mr. Canning has offered up wishes against us and in favour of our enemies, cheered by the enthusiastic plaudits of the opposition, which are reverberated to-day in the streets, amidst the silence and embarrassment of his friends; yes, that is his real opinion, his secret has at length escaped. The love of popularity has carried the day; farewell to his old monarchical principles and the teaching of Mr. Pitt! I repeat, however, in the height of the tempest we shall triumph!"

From these words we may infer that M. de Chateaubriand had the confidence of Russia and Austria, and that being assured of their support, since his conversations at Verona with the Emperor Alexander and M. de Metternich, he thought he might defy with impunity the passing murmurs of the British parliament.

But kept in check by the Allied Powers.

"Do not fear," replied M. de Marcellus to him, "that there is the slightest understanding between the courts of Vienna and London. M. de Metternich is deeply hurt, and deplores the loss of Lord Castlereagh, with whom he was so long intimate. Mr. Canning, on his side, cannot forget the lamentations which M. de Metternich has made over the memory of his predecessor, and the words *irreparable loss* applied by him to the tragical death of Lord Castlereagh, still ring in the ears of Mr. Canning.

"It is time," he continued, "to cast a serious glance upon the future, and upon the dangerous minister who now rules the destinies of England. We must hope for his fall or his conversion. He will not fall, and his enemies cannot banish him to *the throne of the Indies*," of which he had been appointed governor-general before the death of Lord Castlereagh. "Mr. Peel, young, firm, and popular, advances without impatience towards the ministry, which some day or other he cannot fail to obtain; Lord Wellington, a warrior but little to be dreaded in the field of intrigue, must yield to the talents and ability of Mr. Canning. He will not fall, and it is, therefore, essential for us that he should change his politics, and that instead of *Briton*, which he is, he should become European. Emblazon before his eyes the splendour of a great diplomatic glory, assemble a new congress, let him come and treat there in turn of the interests of the East, of the American colonies, of our last four revolutions extinguished in two years, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain! Let Europe load him with favours! Inaccessible to gold, he is not so to praise; reconcile him, in short, to his old monarchical opinions, and pray pardon me if, in spite of my youth, I speak so freely to you on the great interests of my country."

The whole secret of British policy relative to Spain was, in fact, at that time in the mind, the eloquence, and the double position of Mr. Canning, faithfully depicted by the young confidant of M. de Chateaubriand in this correspondence, which was thus continued:

"It is presumed, said Mr. Canning recently, that I have deceived myself in this affair of Spain. It is better to deceive

The French army crosses the Bidassoa.

ourselves once than twice, and it is better to deceive ourselves twice than to admit that we have been once deceived."

"It is in these enigmatical subtleties that the great interests of nations are about to be absorbed. Mr. Canning persists in considering our triumph as his defeat, and everything which might diminish our success as soothing to his embittered feelings."

XII.

Such was the mutual position of Mr. Canning and M. de Chateaubriand at the moment the Duke d'Angoulême, without casting a look behind him, crossed the Bidassoa.

We shall not give a military narrative of an expedition which was more political than military, which offered nothing until the arrival of the commander-in-chief under the walls of Madrid and of Cadiz, but a rapid march, a resistance, feeble and disconcerted, by the political divisions of the Spanish people, an admirable state of discipline, and an unreflecting intrepidity. If it had not the splendour of the sanguinary wars of 1808 in Spain, it won at least for the French name a more solid fame for subordination, honour, and humanity. The army was everywhere worthy of itself, of the Empire, and of the Restoration. The old generals who had made the campaigns of the Republic and of Napoleon, confirmed their glory in it, and the young ones acquired their reputation. This war will remain a mode for wars of intervention, in which it is necessary to be at one and the same time the enemy of some, the auxiliary of others, and the arbiter of all in the conquered country.

Ballasteros was commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies.

The Duke d'Angoulême leaving to his generals the duty of covering his flanks and preserving his communications, against the *corps d'armée* of Mina in Catalonia, and of Morillo in Galicia, and the Asturias, advanced in mass against Labisbal, who commanded the constitutional army of the centre, which covered Madrid. The people, kept down until the approach of the French, by their dread of the ultra-revolutionists, rose only to give a friendly reception to the invaders, and to embody them-

Ferdinand carried off to Seville.

selves in *guerrillas* under the banners of the regency. A chief of royalist partisans insulted almost with impunity the outskirts of Madrid. Labisbal shut himself up in it with his army, and negociated, underhand, with the emissaries of the regency, to spare the capital from those sanguinary extremities, which could only ravage the country without raising it against the enemy. The King, in spite of his refusal to abandon his capital, had been constrained to quit Madrid with his family, under an escort of six thousand men, more like a prisoner than a king. The Cortes rejoined him at Seville to preserve in the eyes of Spain and of the world this semblance of a legal government, in which the three constitutional powers still represented the kingdom. He was compelled to sign, by holding his hand, manifestos similar to those of Louis XVI. in 1791. in which he repudiated the oppressive succour of France, and assumed the responsibility of the acts of the government which held him in chains.

While these manifestos were falsifying matters to Europe, without deceiving it, Saragossa, Tolosa, and all the towns occupied by our troops, broke the stone of the Constitution, and hailed the French flag as the sign of their deliverance. The Duke d'Angoulême advanced towards the capital under triumphal arches. Labisbal had sent General Zayas to him, to treat for the capitulation of Madrid. While the Prince and Zayas were deliberating and signing it, the inhabitants and soldiers, indignant at the weakness or the treachery of Labisbal, rose against him, and compelled him to seek for safety in flight. Disguised and fugitive, concealed under a false name, and only followed by a devoted woman, dressed in male attire, Labisbal eluded the poniards, reached the advanced posts of Marshal Oudinot, and being protected by French detachments, took refuge with difficulty in France.

The people appointed another general to the vacant command of the army, but he also retired before the approach of the French, the disaffection of the provinces, and the impending dissolution of the Cortes. Zayas alone remained with some squadrons, to preserve order amongst the ultras and the populace, and to deliver over the capital intact into the hands

The Cortes resolve to go to Cadiz.

of the French. Before he entered the city the Prince published a proclamation, by which, while preserving in his own hands the military power, he conferred the political authority on the national regency. M. de Martignac, a young advocate of Bordeaux, the pupil and friend of M. Lainé, who accompanied the army in the quality of commissioner-general of the French government; in order that the government measures should not cease, even in the camp, to belong to the ministers who were to be responsible for them to the Chambers, had counselled, drawn up, and signed this proclamation. It satisfied Castilian pride, raised the spirits of the royalists, depressed the enthusiasm of the multitude, and smoothed the entrance to Madrid for the Prince. An immense crowd of the inhabitants advanced to meet him outside the walls, with branches of palm and laurel in their hands. He suppressed, with a firm and impartial hand, every symptom of reaction and vengeance of one party against the other. The magnanimity of his heart naturally elevated him at Madrid, as at Paris, to the part of mediator and arbiter; he disdained that of chief of a party.

XIII.

Two columns, the one commanded by General Bordesoulle, the other by General Bourmont, hastened in pursuit of the army of Madrid, and endeavoured to reach Seville before it. The Cortes at their approach summoned the King to accompany them to Cadiz, still hoping that England, which had received their ambassador with enthusiasm, would throw aside the neutrality so unpopular in London which Mr. Canning could with difficulty maintain, and declare herself the armed protectress of their independence. The English fleet might give them an assistance at Cadiz which the Revolution could no longer expect from the interior. Ferdinand, who, in his palace of the Alcazar at Seville, felt that his people and all Europe were behind the handful of liberals and soldiers that surrounded him, refused energetically to obey their summons otherwise than by force. The deputy Galiano proposed that they should declare the temporary deposition of a prince, who

And force the King to accompany them.

refused to associate himself with the desperate acts of his gaolers. A revolutionary regency was accordingly nominated to replace temporarily the royal power annulled in the person of Ferdinand. The English ambassador did not recognise this violent deposition, and withdrew from Seville. The King being conducted with his family to Cadiz was no longer anything but a hostage for the Revolution. The Constitutional troops who kept down the sentiments of the people at Seville, had scarcely retreated upon Cadiz, when the populace of Seville rose and massacred the partisans of the Cortes. The provinces which were still undecided, on learning the abduction of the King, and the outrage on the throne, shuddered as at an act of sacrilege, and declared themselves everywhere for their liberators the French. General Morillo, Count of Carthagena, chief of one of the Constitutional armies, passed over with one-half of his troops to the ranks of the royalists; all the fortified towns fell, one after another, to the French generals. Mina and Riego, and some of the most desperate generals of the Isle of Leon, alone maintained in Catalonia and in the mountains a cause abandoned by the nation, and which had rendered itself unpopular by its anarchies and excesses. The Duke d'Angoulême was, therefore, able to concentrate his victorious army with safety under the walls of Cadiz. Surrounded by land, and blockaded by sea, this city with a population of 80,000 souls, defended by 20,000 soldiers, mistress of the King's person, and the refuge of the Cortes, was the last and formidable asylum of the revolution. It could at the same time fight and negotiate. Ferdinand, as if in reparation of the outrages and deposition of Seville, had received back again at Cadiz the apparent plenitude of royal power, in order to sanction with the King's name the last efforts of the revolution, and the negotiations of the Cortes with the French army. He was still, however, a prisoner in his palace, and was even interdicted from walking on the terrace of his residence, lest, through pity or zeal, his presence should excite to revolt the people affected at his captivity. Ballasteros, after Morillo and Labisbal, made his submission and that of his army to the King. Cadiz was kept in a state of agitation

The French troops invest Cadiz.

by the divisions between the generals and members of the Cortes. Riégo sallied from it, as he had done from the Isle of Leon, in the first act of the revolution, to raise in insurrection the provinces in rear of the French. The moderate members of the Cortes being threatened by the ultras, took refuge at Gibraltar with the English ambassador. The extreme and desperate party of this convention, shut up in the city, swore to bury themselves with the King under the ruins of the place. Every one, therefore, trembled for the life of Ferdinand and of his family. Frequent and numerous sorties, always heroically repulsed by the intrepidity of our troops, covered with the dead bodies of the Spaniards the approaches to the town, and the sea shore, which were the scenes of action between the two armies. The depression of some and the despair of others returned to the city on these occasions with the decimated battalions of the Cortes. Provisions and ammunition began to fail, but the heroism of the Constitutionalists did not yield. The revolution was determined to perish with arms in its hands, to bequeath at least a sanguinary protest against despotism.

XIV.

The Duke d'Angoulême had nothing more to do than to gather, in the voluntary or compelled surrender of Cadiz, the fruits of his triumphant expedition. He allowed some time for reflection, and for a return to prudence on the part of the Cortes, in the dread of compromising the life of Ferdinand, by driving to despair those who had him in their hands. Full of anxiety for the pacification of Spain, and of indignation against the acts of vengeance which the royalists, triumphant under the shadow of his standard, attempted already to exercise upon the Constitutionalists, this prince withdrawing a portion of the dictatorship which he had thought it his duty to bestow upon the regency at Madrid, published at Andujar a protective ordinance for the liberty and security of the vanquished. He interdicted the Spanish authorities from arresting civil and military Spaniards for political causes, and ordered the immediate liberation of those who had been imprisoned by the

Taking of the Trocadero.

reaction. This was a general amnesty proclaimed in the name of France, the armed arbiter of the parties she had separated, a policy equally wise and magnanimous, given as a pledge of reconciliation, and as an example to Ferdinand.

XV.

While the Prince was thus offering an honourable capitulation at Cadiz, and a security to the vanquished in the provinces, he made a decisive assault on the peninsula of the Trocadero, the fortifications of which kept our mortars too distant from the city. The army, the fleet, and the Prince himself attacked this volcano of artillery with that cool bravery which never thinks of death in the performance of duty, and which constitutes in the general and the troops that *sang-froid* of heroism so peculiarly French. The Duke d'Angoulême exposed himself to the fire like the boldest of his grenadiers. The Prince of Carignan, who had been exiled from his country for his participation in the revolution of Turin, and who was desirous of redeeming his fault by repentance made illustrious on the field of battle, marched as a volunteer to the assault on the Trocadero, in the front rank of the grenadiers of the royal guard. What a sad and singular destiny was that of this prince, brave but deficient in judgement, who had excited to revolt the army of his uncle the King of Sardinia, in favour of the Spanish Constitution, and was now fighting against that identical Constitution before the walls of Cadiz; and who, after having subsequently persecuted and punished, while on the throne, during a long and ungrateful reign, the accomplices of his first revolutionary attempt, was to proclaim in Italy in 1848, the cause of independence and revolution, and to return, finally, near that same sea of Spain, to die of grief for his defeat: the victim by turns of the two causes which he had promoted, deserted, combated, and served, but always at the wrong time.

XVI.

The fall of the Trocadero placed Cadiz under the shells from our frigates and the balls from our batteries. The people were raging in the city and threatened the Ministers, the generals and the Cortes, who, in their turn, threatened the King. The members of the government sent General Alava, a military diplomatist wavering between the two causes, to propose terms of peace to the Duke d'Angoulême. The Prince replied that he would only treat with the King when restored to liberty. "When Ferdinand is free," he added, "I shall use every effort to induce the King to grant a general amnesty, and to give to his people the institutions which he shall judge to be in harmony with his own wisdom and the wants of his subjects.

The Cortes satisfied, and at the same time disquieted with this answer, sent back the same negociator to demand by what sign the commander-in-chief of the French army would recognise the liberty of the King. The Prince replied that, in his eyes, the King would not be free except in the centre of his army at Port Santa Maria, or at Chiclana. The Duke de Guiche, son of the Duke de Grammont, aide-de-camp of the Duke d'Angoulême, with whom he had returned from exile, and had become one of the most brilliant officers of the new army, was the bearer of the letter to Ferdinand, which invited him to this interview. But the hope of a mediation on the part of England, the arrival at Cadiz of Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer, a great encourager of continental revolutions, and the presence of Riço's first accomplice, General Quiroga, who had returned to the city to rouse the expiring enthusiasm of the Peninsula, on the spot where he had first lit it up, broke off the negotiations, rendered the captivity of Ferdinand more rigid, and caused a convocation of the Cortes to appoint a council of war, charged with defending to the utmost the last rampart of the Constitution. The Prince replied to these menaces by the assault of Fort Santi Petri, by the taking of the Isle of Leon, and by the bombardment of the city, the prelude of a final assault. The Cortes at length, intimidated by

Liberation of Ferdinand.

the agitation of the people, by the depression of their soldiers, and by the imminence of the danger, restored by a degree the absolute power to the King, and conjured him to go to the camp of the Duke d'Angoulême to intervene there between his people and the French army. They pretended, in order to save appearances, to believe in the good faith and the sincere intercession of Ferdinand, in favour of the cause of which he was the victim, but in reality they only believed in his resentment and his vengeance, which were stamped beforehand in his character, and in the fanaticism of the monks and royalists. But this capitulation preserved them from the dungeons and the executions which awaited them in a city taken by assault, and gave them time to seek refuge on board the English vessels and at Gibraltar. They gave up their hostage to redeem their own lives.

XVII.

About noon on the 1st October, the Duke d'Angoulême, being informed of the approaching arrival of Ferdinand, drew up the French army in order of battle on the sea shore, at Port Santa Maria, to honour the first steps of the King of Spain upon his liberated territory. The liberating army soon after saw the vessel containing the royal cortege advancing towards the mole. A number of boats, decorated with the flags of France and Spain, full of Ferdinand's friends, and spectators of this grand scene which was to change the destinies of Spain, escorted the King's barge. Ferdinand, with his Queen and his brothers, the companions of his long captivity, contemplated with eager impatience the mole of Port Santa Maria, the battalions of the French army, and the staff of the Duke d'Angoulême, where life, liberty, and the crown where at length awaiting them. They trembled, even to the very last stroke of the oars, lest a change of mind, or fresh sedition on the part of the ultras in whose hands they still were, might recall them to the captivity, the insults and the dangers which they were at length leaving behind them. General Alava, confidential negociator between the King and

Dissimulation of Ferdinand.

the liberals, and Admiral Valdes, who had protected him against the insurrection of the militia of Madrid, were standing on the deck of the royal barge, conversing familiarly with His Majesty. Ferdinand, whom a long habit of apparent deference to his enemies during their long triumph, had accustomed to dissemble his sentiments, language, and expression, maintained his dissimulation till the moment that his vessel touched the strand of Port Santa Maria. He spoke to Valdes and to Alava of his gratitude, of the occasion he should have for experienced and popular guides and councillors for his new reign; he requested them to rely on his magnanimity, to disembark with him and quit for ever that agitated and unsafe city, where their regard for his person might, perhaps, be imputed to them as a crime. But whether from duty to their country, or distrust of the King's caresses, the two officers declined landing with the royal family. The French officers who lined the beach expected to see them rewarded by the King at the moment his majesty landed under their auspices, by one of those signal pardons which change into favours resentment effaced by great services. But the King, as soon as he felt himself in safety under the bayonets of the liberating army, cast upon Valdes and Alava one of those glances which portended death. They understood it thoroughly as they tacked round for Cadiz; and without waiting for any other recompense or communication whatever, they hastened to quit a shore which presaged for them nothing but vengeance.

"The wretches," muttered the King loud enough to be heard by the French officers who surrounded the Duke d'Angoulême, "they are right in flying from their fate."

XVIII.

The Duke d'Angoulême, advancing towards the King, and bending his knee as if asking pardon for treading upon his territory to save his kingdom and his life, received Ferdinand in his arms. A unanimous shout of French and Spaniards who witnessed the landing, hailed this embrace of two princes, and two branches of the House of Bourbon, on the shore where

Slavish submission of the Spaniards.

the two monarchies and the two dynasties were mutually raised by each other. The Duke d'Angoulême respectfully presented to the King his generals and other officers, and his troops proud of having contributed to his deliverance. He wished also to present to him the Spanish general Ballasteros, who had joined the King's cause with his army, and who hoped to find his pardon in his defection; but Ferdinand frowned on seeing him, turned his head aside and dismissed him with a gesture, as a painful souvenir of his evil days. The Spaniard retired in silence, and rejoined his *corps d'armée*, filled with doubt as to the fate which his master destined for infidelity and even for repentance.

Multitudes hastened from the neighbouring towns and country, to obliterate by their prostrations and acclamations their offences against majesty, and to precipitate themselves into slavery with the same rage which the populace of Madrid had evinced in rushing into sedition and blood. These persons increased the instinctive vengeance of the King by their cries of enthusiasm and death. Their acclamations of "Long live the absolute King! Long live Religion! Death to the Nation! Death to the Constitutionalists!" accompanied Ferdinand as far as the palace which had been prepared for him, and where the Duke d'Angoulême left him, shuddering at the delirium of his majesty's subjects. The prince and his army saw at a glance, but saw too late, that in snatching Spain from one tyranny they were probably giving it over to another; that a restoration without preliminary conditions with the new government, if it was more respectful and more chivalrous, was less politic and less safe for both monarchies, and that in taking upon himself the part of a liberator, the Duke d'Angoulême had assumed by that very act the duty of arbitrating between the two peoples who were going to contend for the Peninsula.

XIX.

But it was now too late. The ordinance of Andujar, in which the Duke d'Angoulême, inspired by his wisdom and moderation, had boldly assumed the part of arbiter of Spain,

Capitulation of Mina.

excited at Madrid and Seville the indignation of the priests and royalists. The most inveterate protests were made in all the towns and provinces against the gentleness of the conquerors, and against the insolent arbitration affected between the parties by the Prince, who was the auxiliary of the King but not his master. The French ministry, carried away by the intoxication with which the triumph of the French arms had inspired the Chamber, had disavowed this act of the Duke d'Angoulême, and interdicted him from interfering with the internal government of Ferdinand and the Regency. The prince, compelled to obey the orders of the King, turned away his eyes sorrowfully from the excesses, which he could only hope to prevent by his counsel. He gave wise and magnanimous advice to Ferdinand, in the first interview he had with him, a few hours after he had regained his liberty. But Ferdinand only listened to it with feigned deference; and before the conclusion of the day, he had already published a royal proclamation, which annulled, without exception, all the acts and all the concessions agreed to, or forced from him, during the reign of the Constitution.

The fall of Cadiz caused the fall of all those places where the revolution still struggled, Badajoz, Carthagena, Alicante, and Tarragona. Mina alone still held out in Catalonia against the troops of Marshal Moncey. Surrounded by generals, battalions, and the most ultra militia corps, he maintained till the month of November a mountain warfare, of surprises and *coups-de-main*, against the French troops. Threatened himself in Barcelona by the desperation of the French and Italian refugees, a militia without a country, who wished to compel their adopted home to ruin itself in their cause, he succeeded with difficulty in removing them, by sending them to fight, disperse, and die in hazardous expeditions wherein they were decimated. He at length capitulated himself, and left Spain entirely in the hands of the King and his French auxiliaries.

The Duke d'Angoulême leaving to his generals the duty of restoring to the monarchy its pacified provinces, and of reconducting the army to France, repaired to Seville to lay before Ferdinand the entire submission of his kingdom.

Letters of M. de Villèle.

XX.

We conceive that history will be indebted to us for recording here, as proofs of great good sense and a noble character, some fragments hitherto unknown of the confidential correspondence of this prince with M. de Villèle, during the campaign which he had just brought to so glorious a termination. In them will be found the modesty and judgment of a prince hitherto so calumniated by parties implacable to his name.

On the 7th July M. de Villèle wrote to him as follows :

“ MONSEIGNEUR,

“ I have received the letter which your Royal Highness did me the honour to write to me on the 2nd of this month. We have learned with great pleasure the decision of General Morillo. If Ballasteros and the Catalonia generals had followed his example, their affairs, as well as ours, would have been all the better for it ; Spain would be in the position to which she must ultimately come, that is to say, with all opinions, and all diversified interests face to face, which cannot be, so long as ; obstinately continuing in an absurd position, and defending a lost cause which we must oppose, a respectable portion of the Spaniards give up their country to the pretensions and excitement of the rest of the nation.

“ The reduction of Cadiz, or the deliverance of the King, will put an end, it is to be hoped, to all this partial resistance, and place your Royal Highness in a much better position to obtain a hearing for, and to effect the triumph of rational counsels and sound policy ; so long as this triumph is not obtained, the regency, the ministry, and public opinion, which are now under the protection of our bayonets, will continue to be exposed to excitement and violence,—this is in the nature of things, and of the human heart. There is more of weakness and apprehension than of anything else in this disposition ; we should sustain and pardon it, while keeping it as much as we can within proper bounds, without still further exasperating it by any such contradiction as benevolence may not seem to warrant,

To the Duke d'Angoulême.

"The King fully approves the conduct of your Royal Highness in respect to Morillo. Let him recognise the Regency of Madrid, and employ his troops in concert with yours to maintain order in the country. This, I repeat, is the best course that can be taken by all these generals ;—but can they take it ? We know the follies of our own party, they are subject to the follies of theirs, and I shall not be astonished to learn that Morillo has been abandoned by his troops in Castile, as Labisbal was at Madrid.

"Your Royal Highness will be good enough, in the orders you give to your generals, not to forget that Corunna is of great importance to us, as also restitution of the captures made by the privateers belonging to that port. We have just learned that they have captured a second vessel richly laden, on its passage from St. Domingo. This has a bad effect on public opinion in France, and must continue to excite evil dispositions at Corunna. We must put an end to this double mischief as speedily as possible.

"Your Royal Highness stated to me in one of your last letters, that you had given up the idea of laying siege to Pampeluna, without assigning any reason for it. You had previously thought that this city would not surrender before the winter, and that the siege could not be carried on at a later period ; it is one of the places that we ought to occupy. In any case would it not therefore be indispensable to besiege it whatever may happen ? The secretary at war states that everything is ready on the frontier, and that we could readily find all the necessary means of transport to hire ; I submit all this to your Royal Highness's judgment.

"I beg to remind your Royal Highness, with regard to the different systems of occupation of which I have spoken to you latterly, that it cannot be our wish or intention to impose any of these measures, but simply to grant them with greater or less extent, according as more or less prudence may be exhibited ; we shall only be too happy to have nothing to occupy, and to be enabled to bring back our army to France, and that as speedily as possible.

"M. de Martignac acquaints me with the desire which

On the affairs of the Peninsula.

the Regency has to send an ambassador to Lisbon; I see no reason why we should oppose it. General attention and anxiety are now turned towards Cadiz, and with reason, for it is there that the fate of our enterprise must be decided. I have not the least apprehension as to the result; but when I calculate its consequences, I feel the necessity of not neglecting any of the means of success which may be at our disposal. If we can contribute to that success from hence, inform me in what way, and we shall do so, if it be possible.

"I had no thought of two steamboats which we have at Calais; but on making enquiries, I find that neither of them is fit to be sent to you.

"We have made this war without being at all provided for it, and we must therefore get out of it the best way we can; but we must not afterwards forget that we are by no means well furnished either in naval or military matters, and that we must endeavour to make good our deficiencies.

"Some Englishmen have proposed to me that they should go from London to Cadiz, in a steamer that makes four leagues an hour, and bring off the King on a calm day. I should not wish to leave in the hands of the Cortes such a means of carrying away the King from us. It is necessary, therefore, to consider what they may be able to effect with the poor steamer they have at their disposal. The only thing we can do is to make the row boats of our squadron keep a strict watch during calm weather, and that being well manned and armed they should seize upon this steamer if it is ever seen trying to quit the port at such a time. Your Royal Highness need fear nothing from England, or from the dispositions of the other cabinets to maintain absolute power, or from the intrigues of our coteries; all that must fail against a wise and unshaken resolution. The success of our arms, the admirable conduct of your Royal Highness, and above all, the hand of God, so manifest in the whole of this affair, ought to give us the most ample confidence.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"J. H. DE VILLELE."

Affairs between the French and Spaniards.

On the 30th August the prince wrote from Manzanares :—

“ I have had the pleasure, my dear Count, of receiving your letters of the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 26th, and 27th. I shall adopt the project of a proclamation for Cadiz, if necessary, but I rather think a verbal summons will be sufficient ; however, I shall judge upon the spot. I have sent orders to Admiral Hamelin not to allow a vessel of war of any nation whatever to pass.

“ We have nothing to boast of in any way with respect to our navy ; but still it costs us sixty millions.

“ I am afraid that Bourke will have some trouble in reducing Corrunna. Lauriston has orders to commence the siege of Pampeluna as soon as his preparations are made.

“ I have received intelligence from Molitor up to the 1st instant. On the 25th and 28th he had some very brilliant affairs with Ballasteros. That of the 28th may be called a battle ; the enemy presenting a line of twelve thousand infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry. Molitor attacked them with fourteen battalions ; Loverde charged several times with the bayonet at the head of his division, and St. Chamand at the head of his cavalry. The enemy's loss, comprising desertion, was considerable ; and the day before yesterday he was at Fazola with seven thousand men, in presence of Foissac, whose infantry only amounted to three battalions of the guard. Ballasteros is still in treaty with Molitor, but up to the present the conditions he has proposed are inadmissible ; his obstinacy and the assembling of so considerable an army of the enemy must be attributed to the conduct of the regency. The bulletin cannot be sent till to-morrow. The garrison of Carthagená made a sortie on the night of the 17th ; but it was vigorously repulsed by General Vincent. I enclose a memorandum which I request you to communicate to no one but the King and my father.

“ I have this moment received your letter of the 28th, and I renew, my dear Count, the assurance of my esteem and affection.

“ LOUIS ANTOINE.”

“ I am going to give the orders you require to the naval officers, who may consider themselves under my command.”

And a few days after :—

“ This campaign will have the advantage of securing a good army to the King, and of having restored to France the consideration that she ought to have in Europe ; but we shall derive no other benefit from it.

“ The King (Ferdinand), makes me a hundred promises which he forgets the moment I turn my back. But if I could not prevent the regency from committing all imaginable follies, which have done us, and still continue to do us, a great deal of mischief, how should I expect to succeed better with the King ?

“ I am labouring to form a Spanish army ; but I believe the thing is impossible, for the elements are wanting.

“ You may look upon it as certain that there is no good to be done here, and that this country will tear itself to pieces for many years ; but, as I think, without any danger for us, if we keep a portion of our troops in the south of France, where their subsistence will not be more expensive than in the north.

“ The only possible occupation for us is that of a division at Madrid, for the safety of the King and the royal family, and the possession of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figièures, Hostalrich, Barcelona, and Lérida, as security for us.”

Finally, at a moment when victory might be supposed to have inspired him with pride and vanity, the Prince wrote as follows to M. de Villèle, from Madrilejos, on the 27th October :—

“ I have had the pleasure, my dear Count, to receive your two letters of the 19th and 20th.

• “ I herein forward a letter which I received the day before yesterday from the King of Spain, in reply to my letter of the 14th. I am more than ever decided on departing with my troops on the 4th, and not waiting for his majesty at Madrid. I do not wish to meddle any further with the affairs of Spain. I shall leave from thirty-seven to thirty-eight thousand men reckoning the battalions at five hundred men, and the regiments of cavalry at three hundred. This is a little more than you have authorised me to leave. I hope that all the rest will have returned to France before the 1st January, according to

He resolves on returning to France.

your wish, unless the sieges of Carthagena and Barcelona are prolonged, which is not likely. I think I ought to continue in command of the army, though at Paris, until the final return of all that are not included in the army of occupation. I expect to be at Bayonne on the 23rd November, and on the 2nd December in Paris. I beg of you to give the most positive orders that my journey may pass, like the others, without any ceremonious reception, without National Guards or troops of the line under arms, and without the authorities coming to meet me.

"The minister of war has sent orders to the commandant of my artillery, that the fortified places in Spain should be furnished with a complete armament and supply of provisions. This would cost immense sums, and we should rather begin with those of France, which are not so furnished. They should be put into a condition to resist.

"In conformity with your instructions, I have acquainted M. de Talaru that the subsidy of two millions, and the payment for subsisting thirty thousand Spaniards, would terminate at the end of this month.

"On the subject of this last order, I received this day so pressing a demand from the minister of war of His Catholic Majesty, that I have thought it my duty to continue it for fifteen days longer, and to ask you if I ought to prolong it till the end of November. I enclose the report which I directed my major-general to make to me on this subject.

"His Catholic Majesty's ministry had intended to send Quesada's corps to America, instead of a commissioner; but I at once saw the folly of such a step, for this corps would revolt to avoid going out, and there would never be an end of it.

"I have lately received three letters from M. de Chateaubriand, with whom I am not in correspondence, communicating as I do with none of the King's ministers but yourself, accounting to no one but you and my father, and receiving the King's instructions solely through you. In the first he sent me a *Journal des Debats*, containing an article of his. In the second he offered me the embassy to Constantinople for one

Retrospective view of Riégo.

of my generals, and in the third he announced the coming of M. Pozzo, requesting me to treat him well, and to look upon Russia as our best ally. I replied to his second letter that I could not think of designating any one to the King for the embassy to Constantinople, but that I should mention Generals Guillemillot, Bordesoulle, and Dode, as having ably seconded me. With respect to the third, concerning M. Pozzo, I shall receive him with politeness, but I shall speak to him about nothing. If he talks politics to me, I shall reply to him that I have nothing to do with them: France is her own mistress, and has no account to render to any one.

"I renew, my dear Count, the assurance of all my esteem and affection.

"LOUIS ANTOINE.

"I have sent Latour Foissac to Cadiz, and I have recalled Bourmont to take the command of the army of occupation at Madrid. In the course of the next fortnight I shall acquaint the *préfets* with my route and my intentions with respect to my journey."

XXI.

But Spain was already inundated with the blood of vengeance. That of Riégo was shed under the eyes of our own soldiers.

This first of the military conspirators had not redeemed by any brilliant exploit his breach of discipline and fidelity to the King in the Isle of Leon. The Constitution had hardly defined the respective powers, and re-established a legal and parliamentary authority, when Riégo, continuing his part of a military tribune, had agitated the army, coerced the King, intimidated the parliament, affronted the ministers, and filled by turns Madrid and the provinces with the pretensions and turbulence of his party. The agitation which he had perpetuated in the revolution, and the unreasonable institutions to which he had instigated the clubs, contributed in a great measure to the anarchy of the Peninsula, and to the dissaffec-

He quits Cadiz to agitate the country.

tion with which the Constitution, popular at first, had finished by inspiring the nation. Revolutions perish by their own excesses more rapidly than established governments.

XXII.

Riégó, as we have seen, still dreaming of an armed revolt springing up at his voice in the provinces for the cause of the Constitution, had quitted Cadiz, with the intention of bringing reinforcements to the Constitutionals. The Cortes, to relieve themselves from his presence rather than to invest him with authority, had appointed him commandant of the army of Malaga; Zayas who then commanded it, and who had evacuated Madrid too complaisantly before the Duke d'Angoulême, having incurred their suspicion. Riégó, in the disguise of a sailor, as one of the crew of a fishing boat, had passed without discovery through the French cruisers which blockaded the Bay of Cadiz. On arriving at Malaga, he revealed himself to the troops, and arrested Zayas, and all the officers of his army who were suspected of treason. He threw them, together with a crowd of citizens, of priests and of monks, into a vessel which was to take them to the Havanna, to suffer there the exile due to their weakness, or their negociations with the French. He levied on the churches, on private property, and on the banks revolutionary contributions, which were distributed by him amongst the soldiery, to win them over with the spoils of the royalists. He coined money with his own effigy to meet the expenses of the war; and he wished to infuse his own despair into his troops, and to render them irreconcilable with his enemies, by leaving them no hope of safety or justification but in victory. He had succeeded in assembling six thousand men under his command, and his plan was to march with these forces into the provinces of the kingdom of Grenada. The Spanish *corps d'armée* of General Ballasteros was still there under arms, undecided between its recent submission to the King and its ill-suppressed revolutionary tendencies. Riégó hoped to seduce it from its general, as he had won over the garrison of Malaga from Zayas, to escape from the *corps d'armée*

Riégó arrests Ballasteros.

of Marshal Molitor, and thus to perpetuate the war in the heart of the kingdom.

But he had scarcely left Malaga to execute this design, when Marshal Molitor pushed forward General Loverdo upon that city, and thus cut off Riégó from the sea. Being pursued and overtaken in the plain of Grenada, by General Bonnemaison, another of Molitor's generals, he fell back upon the Spanish advanced posts of Ballasteros, the only unoccupied spot left to him. On his approach, the soldiers of Ballasteros, carried away by their recent confraternity of cause and country, embraced the soldiers of Riégó, and swore to mingle their colours and their blood with those of their comrades and countrymen. Ballasteros himself, pretending to participate in a feeling which he was unable to control, seemed also to be drawn into this military revolt. Being embraced by Riégó, and proclaimed commander-in-chief of the two united armies, he entered, amidst cries of "*Vive la Constitution!*" at the head of his troops, intoxicated with joy and sedition, into the town of Priego, his head-quarters. But during the night having assembled the officers of his *corps d'armée* in council, and having convinced them of the disloyalty of breaking the capitulation concluded with the French, and of the shame of giving up their soldiers to the seduction of Riégó, he marched his regiments out of the town, to remove them from the contagion of the army of Malaga. On learning this defection and the retreat of the soldiers of Ballasteros, Riégó hastened to the general's residence, supplicated him, but in vain, to rescind his order, to continue in the command of the two united armies, and to raise the standard of the Constitution, promising to be the first to put himself under his orders; but unable on this occasion either to bend or intimidate Ballasteros, he disarmed his guard, and made him prisoner with his staff in his own head-quarters, threatening with dungeons and execution all traitors who should refuse to become partners in his despair. On the report of their general's captivity, the troops of Ballasteros, who were encamped outside the town, returned to revenge this outrage on their general. On their approach, Riégó set Ballasteros at liberty, and retreated with his soldiers, baffled and cut

But is driven to the mountains.

up towards the mountains. A party of his cavalry abandoned him, also, and joined the standard of Ballasteros. Being pursued and defeated on the little river of Jaën by General Bonne-maison, he endeavoured with a handful of men who remained with him, to throw himself once more towards a division of the army of Ballasteros at Ubeda, commanded by the Spanish general Carondelet; but Colonel d'Argout of Molitor's army cut off his passage and scattered the last of his soldiers. Having witnessed from the summit of some rocks the destruction of his little troop, Riégo, a fugitive and almost alone wandered for some time in the mountains, abandoned in succession by the companions of his popularity and his reverses. Reduced by these consecutive desertions to a group of seven or eight men, worn out with hunger and fatigue, Riégo one day fell in with a hermit, the only resident of these solitudes, who was ascending to his hermitage accompanied by a peasant of Vilches, named Lopez Lara. Driven by necessity to seek for a guide, to enable him to avoid the towns, the villages, and the French and Spanish posts, where his name was a sentence of proscription, and a signal of death, Riégo drew the hermit and his companion aside, and without making himself known to them, he offered them a sum of money which would be a fortune for themselves and their families, if they would conduct him by unfrequented roads to a seaport, where he might embark to fly for ever from his country. The hermit and his companion, suspecting from the greatness of his offers that the fugitive was some illustrious criminal, whose crime they would partake of by protecting him, obstinately refused to unite themselves with his fate. Riégo then had them forcibly seized by his soldiers, and placed upon two mules which were still left to him, and waiting for nightfall, he ordered them, under pain of death, to guide him undiscovered to the sea.

XXIII.

Lopez and the hermit were still ignorant of the names and condition of the fugitives into whose hands they had fallen; but the imprudence, or abstraction of one of Riégo's officers

And betrayed by a hermit.

having led him to pronounce the name of his general, while descending the mountain in rear of their guides, the latter heard it with horror. Animated by the implacable animosity of party feeling in Spain, which sets danger at defiance in its thirst for vengeance, they resolved at the peril of their lives to deliver the chief of the insurrection of the Isle of Leon into the hands of his executioners, and chance was favourable to their design. A solitary farm at a certain distance from the village of Arquillo belonged to the brother of the hermit's companion; and Lopez pointing it out to Riégo, prevailed on him to ask refuge there for the day which was about to break, offering to conduct him thither. Riégo leaving his little band concealed in a ravine, went forward with Lopez and three of his officers towards the farm. Lopez called his brother, whose name was Mateo, to open the gate, and making a signal to him to be silent, introduced the three officers and their chief into the court-yard. One of Riégo's companions was an English colonel, who, fearful of some surprise, locked the gate behind him, and kept possession of the key. Riégo and his companions having dismounted, entered the stable, where, having taken some food, they threw themselves upon their horses' litter, with their arms by their side, and fell asleep.

Riégo, on awaking, having perceived that his horse had lost a shoe, asked for a blacksmith to enable him to resume his journey during the night. Mateo, whose brother Lopez had just had time to whisper in his ear the name of his guest, undertook to go to Arquillo in search of the blacksmith, but instead of going to the house of the latter, he hastened to find the Alcalde, acquainted him with the presence of the fugitives in his house, and assured him that both he and his brother were ready to shed their blood to accomplish the King's vengeance, if the inhabitants of Arquillo would second their courage and fidelity. At the name of Riégo the inhabitants of Arquillo flew to arms, and sending Mateo off to the farm with the blacksmith, to lull his guests into false security, they followed slowly by circuitous routes to surround the house.

Marched prisoner to Andujar.

XXIV.

Riégo, leaving his horse in the hands of Mateo and the blacksmith, had gone into the house to partake of the repast that was prepared for him. He was indulging in the hope of a safe and rapid flight during the darkness, when the English colonel, more vigilant than his chief, rising from table to take a look over the plain, perceived some armed men at a distance, hiding behind the trees, and surrounding the house in all directions. "To arms!" he cried, "we are betrayed; here are armed men coming!" "To arms!" repeated Riégo, jumping up from his seat, and trying to get hold of his. But Lopez and Mateo had already seized their carbines, and presenting their muzzles to their prisoners' breasts, threatened to shoot them if they stirred. Riégo, thus disarmed, could make no resistance, and allowed his hands to be tied without a murmur; merely requesting Lopez to prevail on the soldiers who were approaching to spare his life and that of his companions, and to treat them as prisoners of war. The armed villagers then entered, and Riégo requested the Alcalde to embrace him, as a sign of reconciliation or of mercy. This the Alcalde did, but unwillingly, and more like a Christian obedient to his faith, than an enemy yielding to compassion. He forbade his followers to accept the gold which Riégo offered them, to interest them in his fate.

XXV.

A detachment of cavalry soon after arrived and escorted the captives to Andujar, where the fury of the people contended for them with the escort, eager to forestal the executioners. The French garrison of Andujar, though unconnected with this seizure made by the Spanish authorities, was obliged to fly to arms to prevent the murder of the prisoners in the street. Riégo, at the sound of the imprecations hurled at his head, preserved in his features that sad but disdainful impassibility which appreciates, without being astonished at the fickleness of, the

Fickleness of the mob.

multitude, of which he was the victim in the same spot that had witnessed at another period the delirium of his popularity. When passing thus fettered through the public square of Andujar, and raising his eyes towards the façade of the town-house, he could not avoid glancing at his past fortune and his present calamity. "You see," he said to M. de Coppens, an officer of rank on the staff of Marshal Moncey, who was protecting him from the execrations and the knives of the multitude: "you see those people who are so enraged at this moment against me, and who would have already murdered me had it not been for the French, those same people, last year, in this identical spot, carried me in triumph in their arms; the town, in spite of my unwillingness, presented me with a sword of honour; every night that I passed here the houses were illuminated, and the people danced until morning under my windows, preventing me, by their acclamations, from getting a wink of sleep!"

XXVI.

The revocation of the ordinance of Andujar, that wise and merciful instance of foresight of the Duke d'Angoulême, prevented the French generals from claiming the prisoner of Arquillo from the authorities of the town. Justice or vengeance upon a Spanish prisoner, seized on by his countrymen, belonged henceforward to the Spaniards alone. But the French army, while assisting one party against the other, painfully bore the responsibility of the cruelties of the triumphant side; a humiliation which its general wished to spare to its humanity and honour. The French detachments in escorting from Andujar to Madrid the prisoner they were to deliver to the King of Spain, if they were not his executioners, appeared, at least, to be the accomplices of his execution. One act alone could palliate the intervention, and this was amnesty. By preventing the Duke d'Angoulême from imposing this act on the party to which he had restored a throne, the French minister stained with blood the ~~glory~~ of his expedition. M. de Chateaubriand rendered the Restoration in France a co-partner in the face of Europe in the

Mock trial of Riégo.

severities, the cruelties, and the implacability of the Restoration in Spain. The French army felt this, and was humbled in its attitude.

The anger of Ferdinand awaited Riégo at Madrid. His trial was nothing but a vain formality, at which he declined defending himself, being certain that he could not obtain justice, that he would not find pity, and that he should encounter nothing but insult. The multitude by their ferocious outcries, exacted from the judges, even in the hall of justice itself, a sentence of death. This sentence was read to him in his prison on the 7th November. He listened to it without emotion and without complaint. He thus lost, by the vicissitudes of revolution, a life which he had devoted from his youth upwards to the triumph of liberty and philosophy, a passion for which he had imbibed during his captivity in France. His fault was serving his cause by conspiracy and military sedition, with the arms he had received from his prince, on other conditions and under another oath. The citizen who revolts against the tyranny of his government is a revolutionist; but the soldier who takes arms against his prince commits perjury. The Spanish revolution miscarried, because, in its origin, it was a conspiracy of the army instead of an explosion of the country. Riégo was its author, its symbol, and its victim. His execution, while it avenged the King, dishonoured justice herself by its atrocity.

Being divested of his uniform he was clothed in a tunic of white linen, his head covered in derision with a green cap, surrounded with a band of hemp, all his limbs were firmly tied, and he was thus thrown like a heap of rubbish into a basket-hurdle drawn by an ass. Escorted by priests, and preceded by a cross, Riégo was thus dragged to the place of execution, to the dismal music of a bell, with which his death knell was sounded by a boy of the choir. The multitude, eager for tragical emotions, silently gratified its propensity at the spectacle. On arriving at the foot of the lofty gibbet on which his body was to be suspended over the city that his name had so long roused to enthusiasm, the executioners lifted him off the hurdle whereon his body had been all bruised and soiled with dust, and

His brutal execution.

placed him on the platform of the scaffold. There the priests gave him absolution for his sins, and demanded for him the last pardon of his enemies, in return for the pardon he himself gave them. He was then hanged, and his inanimate body was suspended for a time over the multitude. One monster, whose hatred had not been satiated by the execution of Riego, struck him when dead a blow in the face; but the crowd disgusted at this outrage upon a dead body responded to it by a murmur of indignation, mingled with cries of "Long live the King!"

Such was the end of the man who had begun, burlesqued, and ruined the Spanish revolution; which was hatched in the barracks, continued by demagogues, and terminated in vengeance; but Riego merited this vengeance less than others from the King, for in the midst of his triumph he had demanded an amnesty for the royalists.

This revolution which was put down by foreign intervention, had only half delivered the Spanish nation from the monkish yoke, and left it to the vengeance of despotism. But it had formed in its Cortes, its tribunes, and its armies, orators and soldiers worthy of the admiration of Europe, and capable of one day profiting, under less crude and more suitable institutions, by the experience of anarchy, and the lessons of misfortune. But their hour had not arrived, and they were all driven to seek maturity in proscription.

XXVII.

The work of M. de Chateaubriand and of M. de Montmorency was accomplished. The French army, happy at recovering its old name in Spain, had added to its military virtues that discipline, that humanity for the conquered, and that consideration for unarmed multitudes, which made this campaign a model for wars of intervention. The political opinions which until then had divided the French army were disappearing and merging in an *esprit de corps*, and a sentiment of esteem for their general, which made both officers and

Return of the French army.

soldiers proud of their fidelity to the King, from the moment that this fidelity was honoured in their eyes by glory acquired under the flag of the Bourbons. This flag, which until then had appeared to them the symbol of mourning for France, now seemed the flag of a more modest but irreproachable glory. They no longer blushed to display it before the eyes of those factions which had insulted and debased it; and regiments were no longer agitated and made a mockery of by plots, Carbonarism and secret societies.

The Duke d'Angoulême brought them back to his uncle, penetrated with esteem for his bravery, confidence in his wisdom, and respect for his virtues. His modesty still further increased their veneration for their chief, who only wanted enthusiasm and external appearance to be a hero, for though he had not the countenance he had the heart of one. Badly endowed with personal graces by the niggard hand of nature, brought up in exile, oppressed by adversity, and a stranger in his native country, his timidity deprived him of the confidence of others and of himself; but an upright heart, unaffected piety, a clear judgment, a relish for and a discernment of good counsel, always kept him on a level with his duties; and the field of battle, by divesting him before the enemy of the indecision he evinced in the presence of his friends, displayed him to his soldiers such as he was, a prince formed to be the first soldier of the crown. With an exemplary disinterestedness of glory he ascribed the merit of his campaign to the generals who had so ably seconded him. Oudinot, Molitor, Moncey, Lauriston, Bordesoulle, Guilleminot, Bourmont, the Duke de Guiche, Bourke, the Baron de Damas, Loverdo, Bonnemaïson, and all his companions and competitors in glory, received the recompense, the promotion, and the honours due to the generals of this fortunate expedition. He reserved nothing for himself but the secret joy of a duty well accomplished, the applause of his wife, the embraces of his father, and the satisfaction of the King.

Reception of the Duke d'Angoulême.

XXVIII.

His return to France was a triumph, not only to the royalists and the soldiers, but to all those who saw in this campaign the resurrection of the French army, and the stability of the House of Bourbon, which had at last assisted itself, and which by mingling the cause of the country with its own abroad, had offered a victorious defiance to its enemies at home. The triumphal arch* of the Etoile was consecrated to the liberating army. The Count d'Artois, the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the Duchess de Berry, his brother's widow, accompanied by her two children, went to receive the prince on his return at the palace of St.-Cloud. Tears of joy at length flowed from the eyes of this unfortunate family, to whom palaces, exile, scaffolds, and assassinations had cost so many tears of bitterness for the last thirty years.

On the following day the generalissimo, on horseback, accompanied by his generals and the marshals of France, Oudinot, Marmont, Lauriston, Bordesoulle, the Duke de Guiche, and La Rochejaquelin, made his military entrance into Paris, surrounded by an immense cortege of troops and inhabitants. He was received at the triumphal arch of L'Etoile, in a tent commemorative of his exploits, by deputations from all the great bodies of the state and capital.

"Our good wishes followed you on your departure," said the prefect of Paris, "and our acclamations awaited you on your happy return. For thirty years the name of war has been nothing but a cry of horror, and a signal of calamity to nations; the population of invaded, as well as of conquering states, throwing themselves upon one another, offered to the eyes of the sage a lamentable spectacle. But war in these days lifts up nations that have fallen, upon every point of a vast empire, appearing humane, protecting, and generous; a warrior that inspires no fear, a conqueror without vengeance.

; the voice of a powerful monarch your victorious sword has been consecrated to the noble and legitimate career of valour and of arms. The trophies of war become the consolation of

The Duke's amiable modesty.

an oppressed people, the volcano of revolutions closed up for ever, the reconciliation of our country cemented in the eyes of the world, victory crowning our sailors as well as our soldiers, and the glory of all the children of France mingled together in one happy union, the names of Logrogno, of Loretto, of Pampeluna, of Llano, and of Llers, with those of Trocadero and of Santi-Petri, united henceforward with those celebrated names of which your family, so truly French, has adopted the glory: such, Monseigneur, are the results of this campaign, such is the work you have accomplished. Enter within these walls that encircle the fame of your ancestors, whose magnificent crown is now ornamented with so bright a gem; the vast city resounds with praises and shouts of joy, in the pride of seeing its warriors again; the public ways are filled with an immense multitude smiling at fresh triumphs; and farther on, in the ancient halls of his sacred palace a father, a king awaits you to place a crown of laurel on your brow. Already his heart leaps with pleasure at the approach of him that he calls the joy of his old age and the glory of France. In his arms you will receive the double reward of martial valour and political wisdom."

XXIX.

These words found a unanimous echo in the hearts of the spectators. The prince, bowing down to his horse's mane replied to it with a modest brevity which enhanced the splendour of his fame. "I am happy," he said, "that I have accomplished the mission confided to me by the King, that I have re-established peace, and shown that everything may be done at the head of a French army." Public justice bestowed upon him the more esteem, the more he seemed anxious to decline it in favour of his soldiers. The regiments of the royal guard, which had already returned from Spain, and the troops of the garrison of Paris, formed a cortège for him to the Tuileries, where he dismounted to throw himself at the feet of his uncle, to whom he restored an army and perhaps a kingdom. 'My son,' said the King to him, with that brief solemnity and

His reception from the King.

tender emotion which he could so theatrically affect in the presence of his people and of Europe, "I am well pleased with you!" Then taking his nephew by the hand, and presenting him to the crowd from the royal balcony of the palace, he excited by this group of the old man and the warrior, always interesting to the multitude, the enthusiasm and the acclamations of his subjects.

The alliance of the royal family with the army and the nation appeared to be at last sealed for the first time by policy, by public opinion, and by glory

BOOK FORTY-SECOND.

Effect of the Spanish war on the internal policy of France—Elections of 1824—Ministerial projects—Septennial Chamber—Reduction of the funds—Opening of the session—Speech from the throne—Ministerial changes—Fall of M. de Chateaubriand—MM. de Damas, De Chabrol, De Frayssinous, De Doudeauville—Royal ordinance re-establishing the censorship for the periodical press—Private life of Louis XVIII.; his retreat at St. Ouen with Madame du Cayla; his daily habits.

I.

BUT if the triumph of French intervention in Spain produced immense advantages for the House of Bourbon in that country, it cannot be concealed that it was also pregnant with immense dangers. The intoxication of the royalists, and the rash confidence which this triumph was sure to inspire them with, in the unlimited power of their party, were the first of these dangers. Great success imparts corresponding boldness, and great boldness brings on great reverses. Who could hereafter put a stop to the requirements of that party of the priesthood which was called the *Congrégation*, and of that party of absolutism which was called the Ultra-royalists, now that these two parties, connected together by one common interest, having already subjugated the King in his palace by an ambitious brother and by an insinuating favourite, had forced him to submit to, rather than to choose, M. de Villèle and his friends for ministers; now that a majority, mad, impassioned, and implacable against even the vestiges of the revolution, belonged to them in the Chamber of Deputies; now that an ascendancy was secured to them in the Chamber of Peers, by a group of bishops and cardinals, strong enough to demand pledges from the crown, and to aspire to a legal supremacy over the government; now, in fine, that these two parties, until then so timid,

Dangerous triumph of the Royalists.

felt themselves supported by a victorious and incorruptible army, which discipline and triumph had rallied, under a brave and pious prince, round the cause of the church and the monarchy! M. de Villèle, though he seemed to felicitate himself on the success of the Spanish expedition, already felt the rebound of it in the council, in the chamber, in the palace, and even in the elections. He had undertaken it in spite of himself, and he had conquered more than he wanted. His victory, taken advantage of by the ultra-royalist party as a bold and happy experiment, which encouraged it to still bolder measures, made this party more exacting and more imperious towards M. de Villèle. This minister had experienced difficulty in restraining them before the triumph, how then was he to keep them down after it? Amongst his own colleagues several belonged to this party more than to the president of the council, and seemed bent on refusing nothing to the clergy, to the royalist counter-opposition, and to the court: M. de Peyronnet, impatient to serve the cause which had adopted and made him great, found nothing difficult or excessive in the government favours which the old regime required of him. His youth, his character, and his zeal, made him repugnant to that circumspection with regard to public opinion which is the great necessity of governments of equilibrium. To secure the victory of one party over another was, in his eyes, to govern; better calculated for civil war than for the administration, to conquer and subdue was more consonant with his nature than to convince and to pacify. M. de Clermont Tonnerre, with more moderation in his views, had, through his religious convictions, profound and sincere, ties which connected him with the church party. The Baron de Damas, whom the influence of the Duke d'Angoulême had made minister of war in the place of Marshal Victor, belonged to the same party. A sensible and a worthy man, whose birth attached him to the aristocracy, his honour to the prince who had chosen him, and his piety to the priesthood. M. de Corbière had no weakness for the church, and no deference for the aristocracy; his plebeian royalism was nothing more than a horror for the revolution, and a passion for putting down the opposition. He only sym-

Self-consequence of Chateaubriand.

pathised with the majority through his hatred; but he could refuse nothing to these allies of his repugnance, connected with any measures which appeared to furnish arms against the common enemy.

II.

As to M. de Chateaubriand,—the decisive impulsion he had given to the Spanish war,—the success of this campaign against revolution,—the gratitude of the church party in Spain, in France, and throughout Europe,—the favour of the aristocratical saloons,—the enthusiasm of the royalist journals and pamphlets, resounding with his services,—finally, the European splendour of his name, dazzling his colleagues, and irradiating their obscurity,—all these considerations gave him, since the congress of Verona, and since the triumph of Cadiz, an external ascendancy, and a noisy popularity which could not fail to overshadow, to eclipse, or to govern M. de Villèle. Retired amidst his glory, inactive in the council, silent with his colleagues, modest before the King, affecting indifference about small matters, and disdain for great ones, given up to pleasure and female society, attentive only to French and foreign diplomats, with whom he had to manage carefully his own position and that of France; laborious, admirable, great and truly statesmanlike in his despatches; obsequious to the dignitaries of the church, to whom his name was a promise of returning power; flattering the great courtiers to be flattered by them in return; secretly connected with the ultra-royalists of the two chambers, whose interests, passions, and requirements, he had served too much in his polemical writings in the *Conservateur* to detach himself from them in power, complaisantly bemoaning with them the littlenesses, the mediocrity, or the timidity of government;—M. de Chateaubriand, without breaking with his colleagues, or thwarting the King and M. de Villèle, released himself, however, from all those responsibilities which might embarrass his part of pre-eminence by ties of expediency, and he left the royalists and the priesthood to hope for statesmanlike reservations, views of genius, and boldness of restoration which kept up his favour.

The Septennial Act.

III.

One of these mental reservations of M. de Chateaubriand, conformable therein to the then prevailing opinion amongst the royalists, was to render stationary for their advantage the Bourbon and monarchical majority which then existed in the Chamber, and which the elections of March 1824, made under the impression of the Spanish successes, had increased and consolidated. Instead of renewing the deputies every year by fifths, the royalists, M. de Chateaubriand, and M. de Villèle himself, proposed to give the existing Chamber a duration of seven years, from its origin in 1822, and to dissolve and renew it in mass at the termination of that period. This law was a *coup d'état* against electoral opinion, a vital element of representative government. It had, in fact, for the King and his government, the advantage of fixing for seven years the majority which was given to them by the elections just terminated, and of thus laying a solid and immovable foundation for his dynasty. But it had also the danger, which so fatally revealed itself, of closing the elective Chamber against the symptoms of a modification of public opinion, or that renewal of ideas which every year infused into its body; of thus, as it were, walling up the Chamber against external influence, and deceiving the government as to the real disposition of the public mind, of which its policy ought to be the expression under a parliamentary regime. The King, in accepting this law from the hands of M. de Chateaubriand and of M. de Villèle, placed himself in the position of a pilot who should suppress the thermometer in the binnacle of his ship, that he might be systematically ignorant of all the atmospheric changes which ought to modify his manœuvres. The royalists and the priesthood adopted this idea with ecstasy, which was presented under the name of the septennial act to the admiration of their party. It did not suppress, but it adjourned from seven years to seven years, the electoral sovereignty of the nation. In this manner it dethroned the National Assembly, and assimilated the Chamber to the institution of the States-general of the old regime, convoked,

Reduction of the funds.

not as formerly at uncertain periods, but at an epoch fixed and determined. It was evidently giving the lie to the Revolution and the charter, and returning indirectly towards the old days of the monarchy.

IV.

M. de Villèle had prepared with another view another government measure, which the King was to present at the same time to the Chambers. This measure, exclusively financial, consisted in reducing the interest of the loans contracted by the state in the different phases of the Revolution and of the Restoration, and forcing the state creditors to convert their old stock into new, which should represent an amount of capital and interest inferior to what they had possessed up to that period. This would be an equitable and salutary measure in England and other countries where the state, in borrowing a real and definite capital, naturally reserves to itself the right of paying it back to the lenders, when it can find other lenders offering their money at a lower rate of interest; but it was an arbitrary, retroactive, and dishonest measure in France, where the state had borrowed no definite capital, but where it had constituted *interminable annuities*, indemnity for the bankruptcies, spoliations, and confiscations of the Revolution, under the general title of *Consolidated Funds*, or taken sums which had been supplied to it for the liberation of the country in 1814: *funds* to which credit and speculation alone imparted in the market a capital value, as conventional and as fluctuating as the confidence or distrust of the day. The government, in applying to the French funds the measure for the reduction of interest and conversion of stock applicable to British loans, in reality violated the nature, the spirit, and the letter of its engagements, and in saving a limited amount of treasure, it sacrificed credit, which is the unlimited treasure of nations. The sums furnished to the state by this economy were to serve as an indemnity to the emigrants who had been despoiled of their property by the revolutionary laws.

Presumption of the Church party.

The King in his speech to the Chamber, after having felicitated himself on the glory and success of the French expedition under the command of his nephew in Spain, mentioned these two laws which were to occupy the session.

The liberal opposition, which was reduced to nineteen by the last elections, could scarcely raise a murmur. The immense majority of every shade applauded the three ideas revealed in the King's speech. The royalists and emigrants were satisfied, but the Church party was not. Powerful of itself in the Assembly, more powerful by the interested deference which the ambitious members of the ultra-royalist party evinced for it, and in secret communication with the hidden cabinet of the Count d'Artois, this party, led in the Chamber by two men of great zeal but ordinary intellect, required and obtained, in the reply of the Assembly to the King's speech, an imperious reference to the spiritual and temporal pretensions of the church: "Religion demands," added the majority to gratify this party, "protective laws for public worship, and a competence more worthy of them for its ministers. Public education solicits a necessary support." The auxiliary thus obscurely indicated in the address could be nothing else than the institution of the Jesuits, for public instruction was already in the hands of a bishop, M. de Frayssinous.

By more than two hundred votes the Chamber nominated M. Ravez as president, for the approbation of the King; M. de Labourdonnaie, the candidate of the ultra-royalists had only sixty. From this number M. de Villèle might count his personal enemies in the Assembly. The validity of Benjamin Constant's election contested by M. Dudon, and the legitimate recriminations of the liberals against the scandalous oppression of the electoral colleges by the ministers, were themes for the first deliberations of the Chamber. M. de Martignac, a young royalist orator, too generous and too superior to look for the triumph of his opinions in partiality and violence, acknowledged the patriotism of his adversary, and refused this vindictive

The Financial Bill thrown out.

satisfaction to his party. His talent, enhanced by the natural grace of his character and his eloquent language, his functions of civil commissioner with the Duke d'Angoulême during the Spanish campaign, and the favour of this prince, strongly recommended M. de Martignac to the new Assembly. The ministers presented the septennial-act bill to the Chamber of Peers, and the bill for the reduction of interest and conversion of stock to the Chamber of Deputies. This last law supported, with more sophistry and prejudice than reason, by M. de Villèle and the country deputies, who were jealous of the fund-holders, and opposed, not by those reasons which ought to have occasioned its rejection, but by antipathies purely political on the part of the opposition, was carried by a small majority.

The septennial-act bill was carried by a great majority of the monarchical party in the Chamber of Peers. Lanjuinais vainly displayed the danger of it by recurring to all the Assemblies which had been renewed integrally during the civil commotions, when every integral election had been a revolution. Parties in their days of power never avail themselves of the experience of their days of weakness. The predictions of Lanjuinais, of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, of Boissy d'Anglas, and of the Duke de Choiseul were looked on as menaces by the indignant ultra-royalists

VI

The bill for the reduction of interest being brought before the same Chamber by the ministers, it was debated there for nine days with a pertinacity of resistance which alarmed the government. M. de Quèlen, the Archbishop of Paris, combated the reduction of the interest on the national debt, like a pontiff defending the property of his flock. Paris, in fact, comprised amongst the poorer classes of its population more than twenty thousand small fund-holders, whose very existence was threatened by the law. The church party thus detaching itself from the ministry, and joining, on one side, the rich capitalists of the aristocracy and of the bank, a portion of whose incomes was attacked, and, on the other, the liberal opposition who

The Septennial Act passed.

combated the law simply because it was a government measure, undermined the majority of M. de Villèle in the Chamber of Peers, and occasioned the loss of the bill.

M. de Chateaubriand, who had promised his colleagues his own assistance and that of his friends in the debate, wavered, receded, and held his tongue. His silence being looked upon as foul play by the ministers, embittered the King and M. de Villèle against him; and they looked out for an opportunity of getting rid of an ally so powerful in public opinion, and so little to be depended on in the council. Between M. de Villèle who served without giving umbrage, and M. de Chateaubriand who gave umbrage without serving, the King's choice could not be doubtful. He no longer retained M. de Chateaubriand but from a feeling of humanity, and the difficulty of dismissing a distinguished person still so popular with the aristocratical party.

M. Royer-Collard meanwhile opposed the septennial bill in the Chamber of Deputies by arguments almost of a republican character. The national sovereignty broke forth in his speech in the very face of the throne and the ministers, whom he accused of corrupting that sovereignty in principle, and the elections in practice. "You are still," he said, "the imperial government, with its hundred thousand arms, with the despotic and crafty agents of its power, force and stratagem." As a prophet of political tempests, he turned into derision the pretensions of a government that depended, in these times of fatal instability, on a law which stipulated for seven years duration. "Where are the ministers who governed seven years ago?" he said, "and in seven years what shall we be ourselves?" General Foy combated the law by the same arguments as M. Royer-Collard, but developed with greater eloquence. The leader of the constitutional opposition was equally severe as the philosopher, but less despairing. But opposition and philosophy alike failed against the self-interest of a Chamber desirous of perpetuating its own power. The bill was passed.

Dismissal of Chateaubriand.

VII.

On the eve of a vote which was to carry out one of his political ideas, and which crowned his triumph in regard to the Spanish expedition, M. de Chateaubriand, whose insults to M. Decazes had never been forgotten by the King, who felt them as insults to his own heart, was easily given up by this prince to the resentment of his colleagues. The latter disdained to palliate under those forms of decorum with which even kings envelop these acts of disgrace, the dismissal given to the most brilliant and most popular of the royalists. In their procedure on this occasion they forgot the respect due to ancient friendship, to services rendered, and to genius.

This dismissal was accidentally embittered and made almost an insult to M. de Chateaubriand. On the previous evening, he had not been apprised by any indication in the looks or manners of his colleagues, of their resolution to get rid of him. The royal ordinance depriving him of his ministry, in indirect and laconic terms, had been addressed to him in the morning at his official residence by a simple communication. M. de Chateaubriand was absent at the time from home, having passed the night elsewhere, and not having returned before his customary visit to the Tuileries. His private secretary who had received and opened the letter, hastened in search of his minister, to communicate to him the announcement of his disgrace, and to spare him the mortification of presenting himself at the Council Chamber, and finding the doors rudely shut against him.

He found him in fact at the Tuileries, whither he had gone direct from the house to which he occasionally retired from the tumult of public receptions and state affairs. M. de Chateaubriand was just leaving the Count d'Artois' chapel, amongst the adherents of that court of which he was an assiduous frequenter. He had already received, during the service, from the hints and features of the courtiers, as well as from their coldness and surprise at his presence, some vague and unintelligible presentiments. His secretary, perceiving him in the crowd, approached,

His eagerness for revenge.

and having drawn him aside, communicated to him the order in council and the letter of M. de Villèle, which increased the insult by its brevity and rudeness. M. de Chateaubriand had too much pride to afflict himself, or appear affected under so rude an act of injustice, but he had too much sensibility and too implacable a disposition to pardon the outrage. It cost him but little to give up the ministry after the illustrious work he had accomplished in it; for, by a bold enterprise and a successful campaign, he had left his name incrusting in the history of the Bourbons. He had imparted confidence to the monarchy, he had been a counterpoise to Mr. Canning in the eyes of Europe, and he had constituted himself the statesman of ancient thrones, the European conservative; he retired with the double charm which sooner or later restores men of great ambition to the stage, a great act, and a signal ingratitude. He wanted but one thing to illustrate his fall, and to raise him still higher in falling, which was to bear this ingratitude with the indifference and dignity of a great character, to withdraw into silence and modesty, and to make his friends regret him without joining his enemies, to seek for his revenge only in his services, and his glory only in his virtue.

But the virtue of M. de Chateaubriand was not of this antique model. The part of a Coriolanus of the Restoration had tempted him, as that of a Coriolanus of the nobility had tempted Mirabeau thirty years before. Discontented with the aristocracy and the crown, he swore to make himself estimated at his proper value, by the terror he purposed carrying into the camp from which he had been so imprudently expelled. The King, M. de Villèle, the Count d'Artois, and the ultra-church party, had created in him the most fatal enemy of royalty. Despising, from their narrow views, an embarrassing but necessary superiority, they had not estimated the power of an individuality in a party; they had thrown genius into opposition; they had uncrowned royalism. M. de Chateaubriand had made the Restoration with his pen, and he was now going to destroy it. This, of course, he did not then wish to do; he only desired to avenge himself on an individual, but he avenged himself on a throne. His discontent, which arose to anger, did

Powerful opposition of the press.

not mount up to a revolution. He did not feel that he was too deeply avenged but, to his sorrow and regret, on the wreck of the monarchy

VIII

On the day after his retirement from the ministry, all the intelligents of the royalist party followed him in his defection and insurrection against the government, whose faults he had, however, shared in and encouraged. A public journal which then had almost the power of an institution of the state, and the influential eloquence of a European tribune, the *Journal des Debats*, faithful to friendship even to vengeance, abandoned the government and gave itself up wholly to M. de Chateaubriand. This journal, the property of, and directed by two brothers, MM. Bertin, consummate pilots on this element of public opinion, was not merely a voice, it was a party. Its influence being all the greater the more moderate and liberal it was in its royalism, it could at will, and with perfect consistency, defend the throne on the plea of monarchical necessity, and attack the government on that of indispensable liberalism. Some important members of the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies flocked round this focus of notoriety, of polemics, and of diplomacy. Through some of its proprietors, such as M. Roux-Laborie, a man of universal intrigue, it was connected with the aristocratic and sacerdotal party; through some others, such as the Bertins, it confined itself to the party of the centre, of the moderate left, of the great banking interest, and of the wavering and jealous citizenship of Paris. The superior literature, so powerful in France since the eighteenth century, which the reign of the demagogues and the military government had transiently put down, but to which the freedom of the press and the tribune had given through the charter even a political function, was almost entirely concentrated in this journal, to contribute to which was a title of distinction.

This lever, devoted by friendship to the known ambition of M. de Chateaubriand, was more than a place in the ministry, it was the dictatorship of the opposition. All the other royalist

M. de Villèle's plans to counteract it.

papers, with the exception of those in the pay of the ministry, followed M. de Chateaubriand, who to some represented ultra royalism exiled with him from the council, and to others genius expelled by mediocrity; to the moderates he represented the charter, to the liberals liberty, to literature the glory of letters, to the counter-opposition war with M. de Villèle, and to the revolutionists a discontent which struck the same blows as their journals and their factions, but with a less suspicious hand, and with greater power and effect. It is from this defection of the *Journal des Debats*, and of M. de Chateaubriand, that we may date that coalition, either tacit or concerted, of all those enmities of various origin, of different causes, and opposite aims, against the government of the Restoration, which collected in one work of aggression the most contradictory ideas, which alienated public opinion, which exasperated the government, and pushed it on from excesses to insanity, which impassioned the press, irritated the tribune, blindfolded the elections, and finished by changing, five years after, the opposition of nineteen votes hostile to the Bourbons, into a heterogeneous but formidable majority, in presence of which the monarchy had only the choice left between a humiliating resignation and a mortal *coup d'état*.

IX.

M. de Villèle and M. de Corbière, the most responsible of all their colleagues for the expulsion of M. de Chateaubriand, felt the necessity of assuaging the discontent which the fall of this man, popular in royalism and in the Church, must inspire into the nobility and the clergy, by calling to his place, and to the most elevated functions of the government, men less illustrious but still dearer, and more implicated than he was in the interests and passions of these two causes. M. de Montmorency, dismissed for having been the first to call for intervention; Marshal Victor discharged for having too promptly divulged an appearance of revolutionary conspiracy in the army; M. de Chateaubriand thrown out of the council for having served with too much *éclat*, too much good fortune, and perhaps too much pride, the cause of monarchical restoration in Spain,—all these

The Ultra-royalists muster their forces.

were calculated to attract towards M. de Villèle the suspicions of all fanatical zealots of the throne and the altar.

He hastened, therefore, to appease these discontents, by giving satisfaction to the powerful families which then represented most creditably the tendencies of the high nobility and church dignitaries, and to secure more and more the alliance of Madame du Cayla, by interesting her in the government through the great favours he granted to her friends. The Duke de Doudeauville, dear to the nobility by his name, and to the *Congrégation* by his zeal, was appointed minister of the King's household. His son, the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, assumed, in the department of his father, under the title of Director of the Fine Arts, a real ministry of literature, of the theatres, and of the journals; a patronage at once skilful and splendid, wherein a lavish distribution of favours and graces would cloak the tendencies impressed upon the studies and even the pleasures of the people, and which permitted him to purchase—in order to deaden or extinguish them—a multitude of journals and pamphlets hostile to the Restoration and to religion. M. de la Rochefoucauld thus became the *Mecenas* of artists, and sometimes the Walpole of the press. M. de Vaulchier received the confidential and inquisitorial administration of the post-office, of whom the *Congrégation* was the more sure, inasmuch as his piety was not an assumed part, but an absolute slavery to the cause of the Church.

The Baron de Damas was elevated to the place of M. de Chateaubriand, in the department of foreign affairs, wherein he was the right hand of the Duke d'Angoulême. M. de Damas had the qualities and the natural defects of the Prince his friend,—sound sense, persevering labour, a virtue incorruptible by the *air* of courts, patriotic intention, and cold impartiality; but no external appearance, no *éclat*. The *Congrégation* could reckon upon him as a firm adherent, but not one addicted to political intrigues. His piety was loyal and disinterested like his heart; he even secretly dreaded the unseasonable encroachments of the Jesuits, of whom he was unjustly thought to be the promoter and the instrument.

M. de Clermont Tonnerre got the war office; M. de Chabrol,

Their unreasonable demands.

—a pledge of moderation for the centre,—the admiralty; M. de Martignac, whom M. de Villèle thought of raising somewhat later to the home department, where he was embarrassed by the roughness and inactivity of his friend M. de Corbière, received the direction of the registration,—the road to the ministry; M. de Castelbajac, an ardent royalist, but manageable in the hand of the prime minister, had the direction of the customs. These selections appeased in the Chambers the murmurs caused by the expulsion of M. de Chateaubriand and of M. de Montmorency.

The session terminated without any discussion brilliant enough to merit a place in history; except that M. Berthier, a bold and impassioned orator, imperiously promulgated in the name of aristocracy and of the Church, the injunctions of the religious party: viz., the legal supremacy of the clergy, even in the transactions of civil life; endowment of landed estates to the Church, to replace the immense territorial endowments which it had so many times obtained, and been as often stripped of by the kings, the people, and the revolutions; the re-establishment of the national and unique, if not persecuting and exclusive church. M. de Labourdonnaie demanded the indemnification of the emigrants; M. de Foucauld, the restitution, without noviciate, of the ranks of the army to the nobility. The majority listened with favour to these several orators, and allowed the ministers time to reflect, and to mature their ideas. M. Casimir Perier, one of the most vehement and irritable speakers of the opposition, felt that the boldness of the counter-revolution was about to cast off public opinion to the side which the elections had left almost empty around him. "There are only eleven of us here," he said, "who represent all France!" This exclamation, which then only excited the indignation and derision of the Assembly, was soon to be responded to by the nation.

But if the opposition was cut off, powerless and silent in the Chamber, it was full of fire and ardour in the press. A

They re-establish the censorship.

hidden committee of politicians, devoted, like their master, to the triumph of the church, in the court of the Count d'Artois, exerted themselves to suppress its organs when they could not corrupt them. The ministry of the King's household, through the Duke de Doudeauville,—the ministry of foreign affairs, through the Baron de Damas,—and the ministry of the interior, through M. de Corbière,—furnished funds for this corruption to the agents of the Prince. The Viscount de la Rochefoucauld also bought up, under feigned names, the *Tablettes Universelles*, *La Foudre*, and *l'Oriflamme*. He tried the *Quotidienne*, an ultra paper, which fed with antique prejudices the agents of the aristocracy and the bishops, and which by its ascendancy over the mind of the Count d'Artois, might shake that Prince's confidence in M. de Villèle. The negociation only half succeeded; but it was taken from M. Michaud, a royalist writer, whose sarcastic independence disquieted the minister. The *Constitutionnel*, a journal to which the patronage of M. Laffitte, the Mæcenas of the opposition, and the rising talent of a young writer, M. Thiers, gave authority and *éclat* in public opinion, resisted the seductions of the corrupting committee. As it proved incorruptible it was treated with rigour. Actions were multiplied against the journals; this increased their reputation,—heavy penalties attracted pity to the martyrs. The juries, intimidated by public opinion, finished by giving impunity to these party delinquencies. The royalists then felt that the only means available against the press was to silence it. They accordingly re-established on the 15th August, the preliminary censorship of the journals, and suspended the parliamentary debates of the press. The precarious health of the King, and the danger of allowing the public journals to sow daily panics in the public mind at a moment, always critical, of the transition of a reign, served as a pretext rather than a motive to the royalists. This dictatorship, attributed to prudence by the public, was not imputed as a crime to M. de Villèle. M. de Chateaubriand, half disarmed by it, was the most implacable in his murmurs. He introduced into the French language invectives and terms of contempt borrowed from Tacitus and Juvenal, and which modern polemics had

not yet invented before his time. He created, for the benefit of the religious and aristocratical opposition, an impudent and demagogue style of language, which sullied at once both the opposition and the throne

XI

M. de Villèle responded to this paroxysm of hatred by redoubled gratifications to the sacerdotal party, into which the invectives of M. de Chateaubriand, and the necessity of seeking personal support, drove him more and more every day. He created a religious department, under the title of Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which he conferred on M. de Frayssinous, who was already king's chaplain, and head master of the university. This creation of a special ministry of religion, confided not to an impartial layman, but to a pontiff of the dominant church, contained the seeds of a thorough counter-revolution in education and religious worship. It was an actual restitution of the public conscience and the youth of the country to the clergy of one sole communion. The labours of the Constituent Assembly, and the emancipation of science and of mind were virtually abolished. The civil introduced the spiritual power into its councils, and gave it, as a pledge of alliance the administration of intellect and the control of popular belief. He also introduced a certain number of bishops into the council of state, to give a majority to the Church party in all deliberations in which it might be pleased to interfere. Associates of the *Congregation* were intruded, as guaranties and witnesses into all the departments of the ministry, and even into that of M. de Villèle, to inspire, purify, and superintend, and, if necessary, to denounce their administration to that hidden *clique* which ruled without name or responsibility under the cloak of the responsible ministry; it was applying a mysterious and anonymous system to the government of a great nation, by a league of opinion and conscience, which at first reigned secretly under a philosophical but aged king, and which was preparing to reign in open day under his successor.

XII

In giving these pledges to the Church party, and thus securing to himself the favour of the Count d'Artois, who was governed by this party and reigned by anticipation in the Council, M. de Villèle flattered himself that while serving he would be able to restrain it, as he had done with respect to the monarchical party. Superior, from his great good sense, and his intelligence with the age and the country, to the puerilities and fanaticism of this party, he thought he could, without danger, lavish upon it many favours; satisfied that, at the moment it should exact from him its final demands, the country would rise with an irresistible impulse against a posthumous theocracy, which, after having protected him at the price of some unimportant concessions, would have to claim his protection in turn against the revolt of the Chambers and the public mind. He therefore thought himself, in reality, the skilful and necessary arbiter between the Church party and the political party, as he was, in fact, the arbiter between the ultra-royalist and the constitutional monarchy parties. He thus exhibited as much perspicacity as discretion in the choice he made of M. de Frayssinous for minister of the religious department of his government.

XIII

M. de Frayssinous, a man of mature age and of venerable manners, had risen slowly by unobtrusive talents, and by virtues without ostentation, to ecclesiastical dignities, and to the political post of director of public instruction. He had, during the reign of Napoleon, reconciled, as much as became a priest, philosophy and religion, in discourses equally religious and literary, delivered from the pulpits of the Parisian churches to the youth of that period. These discourses, afterwards printed and disseminated profusely amongst pious families, recalled the candour of Rollin and the tolerance of Fenelon. Instead of the thunders and imprecations of his *confrères* against the

doubts and impieties of the age, he defended with mildness the religion of our ancestors,—argued in respectful terms with the adversaries of the Catholic faith,—exactd nothing from his disciples but impartiality, reasoning, study, and good faith; and endeavoured to convince the mind by the same sacred seduction which M. de Chateaubriand had employed in the same cause to touch the heart.

These conferences of M. de Frayssinous had made the Church immensely popular; while the return of the Bourbons, and the just esteem of M. de Richelieu, had raised the sacred orator to the head of public instruction. Although a priest, he had not alienated to the clergy the independence of the lay university. No excess of zeal, or of proselytism, had compelled science and tolerance to revolt against his administration. In this he endeavoured, as in his old sermons, at once religious and tolerant, to leave faith and conscience with the clergy, and with laymen literature and science. To persuade, and not to exact, seemed to him the work of the religious body, at an epoch when it more became the ancient faith to justify than to force itself into the mind, and when the memory of the yoke, which the exclusive church had pressed too heavily on revolted consciences, was still too fresh not to endanger its being repelled, if too rigorously enforced, and broken once more by a second insurrection of the human mind

XIV.

M. de Frayssinous was one of the original promoters of those pious associations of youth, the only object of which was conversation on faith for mutual edification; which had afterwards degenerated into congregations at once religious and political, and had finally given their name and mechanism to that congregation which had been turned to their own advantage by ambitious men who governed behind the throne. Still M. de Frayssinous did not belong either to the Jesuits or the political congregationists; he dreaded the encroachments of the first, and the religious hypocrisy of the second. By his prudent and moderating opinions, he held, between the secret

Charles X. and the Jesuits.

congregation and the clergy, the position which M de Villèle himself maintained between the monarchical spirit and the counter-revolutionary madness of ultra-royalism. A moderator's part still more difficult in the priest than the minister, which made him suspected of the sacerdotal spirit by the one side, and by the other of philosophical complaisance, which made the age accuse him of Jesuitism, and the church of impiety. Such a man was admirably chosen by the prime minister, as offering all those guarantees which would be sufficient to the reasonable part of the clergy, without, however, giving up his government to the follies, the bigotry, and the covetousness of its more ambitious members. He suited the King, who would only grant the priesthood its restricted place in society, as established since the revolution. He was equally agreeable to the Count d'Artois, who was desirous of bringing France back to the dominant catholicism, but who already distrusted the Jesuits, and looked upon them as more dangerous than useful to the gradual and pacific re-establishment of the ancient faith.*

XV

The government of the King and of the Count d'Artois was thus completed, and lodged in the hands of M. de Villèle. He had given irrefragable pledges to the religious party, and he did not counsel the King to any measure until he had submitted it to his brother. The Count d'Artois himself discussed everything with his council of conscience. The secret concert which existed between M. de Villèle and Madame du Cayla, whose favour, now become an empire, made the minister absolute master of both courts, at the same time that this

* The author of this narrative heard from the mouth of Charles X. himself, in 1820, in a confidential effusion, the following sentiments, word for word. "It is supposed that I am enslaved to the Jesuits, but nothing is more false. I assure you that no one can be less attached to them than I am, and that, if necessary, I could repress them with energy, and keep them in their proper place." He also heard in private conversation nearly the same words from M. de Damas, who was then minister of foreign affairs, and deep in the confidence of Charles X.

Foresight of the Duke of Orleans

concert made Madame du Cayla, who was the organ of the hidden congregation, the indispensable negociator of the royal family with the King, and the arbiter of the prime minister. Such was the hidden mechanism of this government of politics and piety, of the church and the *boudoir*, of sins and scruples, originally employed by a prince impatient to reign, made a business of by intriguers, inspired by bigots, manœuvred by an able minister, and reposing altogether on the doting fondness of an old king for a woman, who, while relieving him from the cares of the throne, allowed him to indulge in the illusions of love.

XVI.

Meanwhile Bonapartism, conquered, or discouraged by the incorruptibility of the army since the Spanish expedition, deferred its hopes till another reign. Liberalism, which had fallen under suspicion amongst the electoral portion of the community, through its complicity in the conspiracies of Bédout, of Saumur, and of the Bidassao, and by its unnatural alliance with the partisans of despotism, was no longer even a minority, but a murmur scarcely heard in the Chamber. The censorship had stifled the voice of parties, with the exception of the Church party, gorged with power and favours by the minister.

Three princes disposed in gradation by age on the steps of the throne, secured the succession of the dynasty : these were the Count d'Artois, the Duke d'Angoulême, and the Duke de Bordeaux. The first was the idol of the court, the second the friend of the army, the last the hope of the nation. Exclusive of these direct heirs of the crown, the Duke d'Orleans, an able and popular prince surrounded by a copious posterity, promised a second dynasty if the first should be prematurely exhausted. Although this Prince affected some suspicious connections with the discontented, he preserved appearances of loyalty and even of attachment to the elder branch of his house. It was thought that his relations with the opposition, were nothing but intentional seductions to attach to the crown the different shades of revolutionary parties. This provident popularity seemed to be a provision which the Prince was making for evil days if they

Splendid reign of Louis XVIII.

should ever arise. Nobody ever thought him weak or ambitious enough to lend his name to a revolution, and to accept a throne founded on the wrecks of the monarchy of his family. He did not, perhaps, think it himself at that time, for everything seemed to predict a long future to the Restoration.

An old man had, as it were, conquered time. The march of events and Europe had alone replaced him on the throne, but his own policy had confirmed him on it; and though this policy, now weakened by the weight and the infirmities of age, somewhat carelessly permitted a fluctuation in his reign, which must finish at the mercy of his brother, of the court, and of the dominant party, he felt himself sure of dying a king, he who had so long lived an exile. This security imparted a carelessness and a serenity to his breast, which enabled him to enjoy his reign as if it had been the result of his own labours. He loved to see himself reign: with superb self-complaisance, in the palace of his fathers, and in front of the place where his brother had been vanquished, a prisoner and a victim of the revolution, he surrounded himself with all the souvenirs, all the pomp, and all the etiquette of a descendant of Louis XIV.

XVII.

The court by its splendour certainly recalled that of the *Grand Monarque*, only that behind all this official and external pomp of his palace, Louis XVIII. preserved some images of his original mediocrity, and some habits of private life, retired and studious, contracted in the changeable residences of his long exile. The King loved to remind himself of his proscription.

All the great offices of the court had been re-established, and restored to the great families by whom they had been held before the revolution. The titular possessors of these honorary employments exercised them ostensibly with solemn regularity, but their functions were nothing more than show with the King, who required the presence, but rarely the services of these great officers of the crown. In the midst of his vast apartments, and by the side of his bed of state, all was a solitude, where every night a little truckle bed on castors

The daily routine of his court.

was brought in for the King with green curtains, resembling a child's bed. On retiring to rest he appointed the hour at which his attendant should awake him the following morning for the business of the day. At that hour precisely, etiquette resumed its empire; his servants entered the chamber, lit the fire, opened his bed curtains, brought him water to wash in a silver-gilt basin, drew on his stockings, dressed him, presented him with holy water, and waited in silence while he offered up his mental prayer, fixed by etiquette as well as piety for the first act of the King on his awaking.

After he had made the sign of the cross, the King ordered the door to be opened to the officers of his household, and to the great dignitaries of the court, the church, and the army, who had the privilege of entering the royal bed-chamber: princes, ambassadors, cardinals, bishops, dukes, marshals of France, lieutenant-generals, first presidents of courts of justice, peers, or deputies. These courtiers formed a circle, or passed before him, whilst his pages and his *valets-de-chambre* finished his toilette, held the looking-glass for him, and brought him on golden trays, the coat, the decorations, and the sword, in which he was dressed for the remainder of the day: He occupied himself in this manner till the hour of *déjeuner* with the members of his family, or with those personages whom the privileges of their respective offices authorised to partake of this first royal meal, and he proceeded, accompanied by this *cortège*, to the breakfast room. All the royal family, some of the great officers of his household, and the principal officers of the royal guard on duty, were admitted to his table, which was sumptuously served. Louis XVIII.,—whom popular rumour, maliciously spread by pamphleteers, accused of intemperance, and a revival of the sensual refinements of Suetoni-*us*,—only regarded the luxury of his table as a piece of royal pomp; he eat nothing but two fresh eggs, and drank nothing but a small glass of foreign wine, poured out by his cup-bearer. After the *déjeuner*, he walked slowly, preceded and followed by his guests and his court, through the hall of the marshals, between two ranks of the royal guard. An immense crowd, admitted without distrust into the palace, filled the hall for the purpose of

Carriage exercise of the King.

seeing the King, the princes, and the princesses. His Majesty being received with acclamations of affection, graciously saluted the crowd in return, and he stopped frequently to receive petitions and supplications which were presented to him by many who were present.

After hearing mass he returned with the same attendants into his private apartments. He then received those persons to whom he had previously granted private audience, transacted business with his ministers, or presided at the council. He allowed the members of the council full liberty of discussion on public affairs in his presence: he spoke there rarely and moderately himself, for fear of cutting short, from the respect that would naturally be paid to his opinions, those questions which he wished to have debated. He exhibited graciousness, enjoyment, and intellect on these occasions, but rarely authority, and impatience never. He respected those statesmen who were the least agreeable to him personally, and evinced, as if to conciliate a similar return, the utmost consideration for his counsellors.

XVIII.

Having despatched the public business, he got into his carriage, to divert his mind and to take, in his long and rapid drives round Paris, the violent exercise which the infirmity of his legs prevented him from enjoying either on foot or on horseback. The eight horses which drew his carriage from relay to relay, and the escort of the cavalry of his guard which surrounded it, never galloped fast enough to gratify his impatience for movement and change of scene, through the plantations and alleys of his parks. He was constantly calling to and pressing forward his equerries, his guards, and his coachmen; and this was the only appearance of anger that he allowed to issue from his lips. Worn out and humbled with the immobility to which nature had condemned him, he seemed desirous of at least commanding like a king the roads, the landscape, and the distance. He enjoyed the whirl of his drive as a captive enjoys his hour of sunshine.

His affecting visit to Versailles.

XIX.

He was fond of taking even this rapid view again, of the royal residences, the situations, the parks and the gardens, where he had passed the splendid and tranquil days of his youth: St. Cloud, Versailles, Trianon, Rambouillet, Compiègne, Fontainebleau, and Brunoy, some of them destroyed, and others transformed by the revolutions and the Empire, which had left their impressions upon them. He was desirous of restoring them all, and especially the palace of Versailles,* which absolute monarchy alone could have built, and which constitutional monarchy felt itself too little, and too low even to refurnish and fill up again. He sometimes had himself carried into the palace, as if to measure with a sorrowful look the distance from his cradle to his grave; on which occasions he ascended, with the support of his attendants, into the apartment he had formerly occupied there.

He dismissed them at the door, and remained alone in his old cabinet, which had been refurnished for him with the old furniture that he himself had indicated from memory to the officers of the *Garde Meuble*, that he might enjoy a momentary illusion of the past. He sat down upon the easy chairs of red velvet, with gold nails, which reminded him of his childhood, his studies, his marriage, and his literary conversations with his favourites of those days. He recalled the images of his brother, of his sister Madame Elizabeth, of the Queen, of the Dauphin, and of all those he had known and loved in that place: memories but little distant in point of years, but which had all disappeared, like *Oedipus*, in a tempest. He witnessed once more, in the tenacity of his memory and the bitterness of his feeling, the tragical scenes of the 5th and 6th October: the clamours of the people still rang in his ears; he saw the paleness of the King, the tears of the Queen, the blood of the guards in the marble court, and the heads of the defenders of his house borne on the points of pikes before the tumultuous bands of the assailants. He was astonished at finding himself once more in this fatal palace, at having

Conversational powers of Louis XVIII.

reascended the throne by his constancy, and maintained himself on it by his wisdom.

From Versailles he had himself driven to *Grand Trianon*, where he had found to his sorrow many traces of the modern and trivial taste of the Empire; for, in decorating this palace, Bonaparte had, in his eyes, despoiled it of its grace: the great man did not hide from him the *parvenu* of the throne. *Petit Trianon*, a caprice of the Queen's, and still redolent with her sports, her idyls, her beauty, her voice, and all the pleasures he had enjoyed in his youth, drew tears from his eyes. He recalled to memory the spectacles, the concerts, the illuminations, and the love-scenes of those delicious gardens, whose trees had thrown their first shadows on the footsteps of this youthful court. He recognised in this royal cottage the whole soul of a princess seeking obscurity to enjoy happiness, even to the simple muslin bed curtains of the Queen of France, where she dreamt of romantic felicity on the eve of the scaffold!

At six o'clock the King returned from his daily drive, and dined with the royal family; the great officers of the household also sitting down to table. The conversation, which was free, general, and familiar, enlivened its formality; care being taken to avoid those political subjects on which the royal family entertained different opinions. The King frequently addressed himself to the courtiers who were standing round the table; he conversed aloud, evidently with a wish to be heard by all present, and enjoyed the impression which his witty remarks, and exquisite tact, made upon his auditors. After this he returned to his private apartments, whither his family followed him to continue the conversation a few moments longer. To this succeeded a period of unrestrained and familiar chat with some courtiers, the companions of his evil days, which he enjoyed till bedtime, with the zest of a man relieved at last from the burthen of the day. The natural cast of his mind, cultivated, reflective, but quick withal, stored with recollections, rich in anecdotes, ripe with philosophy, full of reading, ready at quotation, but by no means of a pedantic character, placed him at that period on a level with the most celebrated geniuses and literary men of his age. M. de Chateaubriand had not

His intimacy with Madame du Cayla.

more elegance, M. de Talleyrand more fancy, or Madame de Stael more brilliancy. Never inferior, always equal, and very often superior to those with whom he conversed on every subject; more flexible, perhaps, than they were, and more diversified, for he changed both tone and subject, according to the person with whom he conversed, and was never exhausted in any. History, events, men, things, books, the theatres, poetry, fine arts, and sometimes the gossip of the day, and of the period, constituted the text of these conversations.

Since the suppers of Potsdam, the cabinet of a prince had never been the sanctuary of more philosophy, more literature, more wit, and more lively sallies. Louis XVIII. would have served for a king of Athens, equally well as a king of Paris; for his nature was Grecian more than French, universal, elastic, artistic, delicate, graceful, feminine, sceptical, somewhat corrupted by the age, but if not capable of doing everything, capable at least of understanding and expressing everything with propriety. Such, without any flattery, was the mind of Louis XVIII. Of this we need give only one proof: which is, that the numerous and diversified factions which were constantly spying into his private life, and were mad to calumniate his dynasty through its chief, have either ascribed to him, or reproached him with many bad political acts, but they have never ascribed to, or reproached him with one bad expression.

XX.

His intimacy with Madame du Cayla, which her wit and allurements made every day more necessary to his heart, was no longer a mystery to any one. He took a pleasure himself in illustrating his attachment by those striking and public donations which by braving scandal often stifles it in courtly palaces. The more apparent these pledges of friendship were the more they attested the innocence and purity of the royal affection. These magnificent avowals of their preference were, in his idea, the prerogative of the princes of his race: Louis XIV. and his royal ancestors had sufficiently distinguished love,

He purchases the Château of St. Ouen for her,

Louis XVIII. might very well, therefore, distinguish friendship. Desirous of imparting to the monument of his attachment for Madame du Cayla an historical character, and of connecting the souvenir of his magnificence with the greatest political souvenir of his reign, he purchased the château of St. Ouen near Paris, where he had drawn up and promulgated the charter, his title to immortality and the foundation of his dynasty, and made a present of it to Madame du Cayla: "I wish," he said, when giving her the title-deeds, "that after my death you should be the guardian of my memory, which, as regards the French people, is there. St. Ouen is the monument of my wisdom and the paladium of my race." An elegant residence, modest but valuable furniture, gardens ornamented with the most exquisite specimens of vegetable luxury, a park enriched with shade and water, and an income sufficient for the maintenance of the building, the conservatory and the fountains, completed this royal gift. *

The King resolved that the inauguration of his favourite in her new domain should be a public fête, flattering at once to his heart and his pride. The presentation of his portrait to Madame du Cayla by himself, occasioned a numerous meeting of all the friends of his Majesty, and of his confidant, at the Chateau of St. Ouen. This fête of tenderness and of gratitude obtained by the King's orders a degree of *éclat* and publicity, which he seemed to enjoy with all the intoxication of a young man and the foresight of an old one, who wishes to perpetuate after him a degree of favour soon to be abridged by the tomb. Journals the most rigid in tone, and even the most hostile to the ministry, such as the *Journal des Débats*, on a hint from the King himself, recorded this gift of his affection, and this fête of friendship, in narrations which astonished all France and all Europe. It was announcing to his court and to the world, that he had a female friend, as his ancestors formerly announced that they had a mistress.

And pays for it by weekly savings.

XXI.

Exclusive of this public and farewell munificence of St. Ouen, the King bestowed upon Madame du Cayla numerous private presents, which enabled her to clear off her embarrassments, and to liberate her property of Benon, near Rochelle. On each Wednesday, a day set apart every week for long private interviews of the King with his fair friend, His Majesty presented her with fifty thousand francs, in gold or bank-notes, from his privy purse, to pay the purchase money for St. Ouen, which had been bought in her name. It was the carrying of these sums from the King's cabinet every Wednesday evening by Madame du Cayla, in a velvet bag, which she held in her hand as she passed through the ante-chambers amongst guards and attendants, that spread injurious reports through the royal household of her avidity and inveigling disposition. People talked with derision of a friendship which was publicly disinterested, but which carried an empty sack into the King's chamber, and came out boldly with one filled with gold or the jewels of the crown. These rumours, however, had no other foundation, according to the private confidants of the palace, than the paternal anxiety of the King to pay in this manner, week after week, from his own economy, for the gift he had made to his friend.

Time did not cool this impassioned sentiment of a prince who had never been in love, but who was always seeking for affection. These long private conversations which he had every Wednesday with his confidant, and which he made so seldom through dread of the malignity of his court, did not exhaust his mental confidence and the effusions of his heart. He demanded, so to speak, from every hour its tribute of ideas and of tenderness, through the agency of his pen. He wrote twice a day, in the morning and evening, to Madame du Cayla, and received an equal number of answers from her. These letters,—full of political confidence, cares of the head of a family, effusions of friendship, and the melancholy of an old man, in the notes of the King; full of advice, of consolation, and the

His correspondence with Madame du Cayla.

mental delicacy of a beloved woman, in those of Madame du Cayla,—had accumulated to the number of fifteen hundred at the termination of this epistolary conversation. After the King's death they were to be given to the Duke de la Chartre, his sure and tried confidant, to be burned by this depository of his master's secrets. These letters of a king who believed in the posterity of his mind as much as in the futurity of his dynasty, were probably detached pages of his history, written day by day, and destined by him to elucidate the mysteries of his reign, as much as to console the sorrows of his heart. We shall see farther on the fate of this precious deposit.

XXII.

But Madame du Cayla was not merely the affectionate friend and comforter of the King; she was, as we have before said, the confidential minister, and the secret negociator of a triple, or quadruple intrigue. An emissary of the clerical party, like Madame de Maintenon, in the cabinet of the King, the pledge and the instrument of favour for the houses of Rochefoucauld and De Montmorency, the hidden link between the policy of the Count d'Artois and the heart of his royal brother, and finally, the intermediate agent between M. de Villèle, the clerical party, the Count d'Artois, and the King himself; she was the multiplied connection between these four diversified influences, the accordance of which formed and maintained the harmony of the government. No female ever had so many and such delicate strings of intrigue and policy to manage in the same hand. The publicity of her favour, and the avowed sanction of the King to this quadruple part performed by his friend, made it easy, however, for this woman of consummate grace and intelligence to conduct an affair with which the King himself had charged her.

Weary of struggling against his family, and against the ambitious portion of the priesthood, he was desirous of peace, and this Madame du Cayla obtained for him from these two parties. He deplored the exactions of his family, the bigotry of his brother, the greediness of the church, and the passions

She is the agent of several intrigues.

of the royalists ; but, worn down with age and infirmities, it was as much as he could do to restrain them by such measures as should not cause his reign to stumble before its termination. M. de Villèle, whose prudence he appreciated, was, in his opinion, the most capable statesman for satisfying a little, and restraining a great deal, the double party which had elevated him to power. The King was desirous that his prime minister and his favourite should come to an understanding, in the first instance, to suggest to him afterwards such measures as might be agreeable to his brother and the clerical party, without being ruinous to the monarchy ; while, on their side, these two parties required that their exactions should be discussed beforehand between Madame du Cayla and the prime minister, to be afterwards accepted by the King. Thence arose a triple government for M. de Villèle ; a preparatory government outside the palace, an official government within, and a parliamentary government with the influential chiefs of the Chambers, whom he understood marvellously well, by his address and his eloquence, how to seduce or to convince, according to their characters and their positions. A diplomatic minister alone can govern a majority. M. de Villèle had the diplomacy of nature and of the South,—the veritable Talleyrand of the assemblies.

XXIII.

This quadruple government was thus constituted by habit, and by the tacit consent of the four court factions of which it was formed. The Count d'Artois, the organ and centre of the wishes of the royal family, received the suggestions of the Church party, which he discussed and controlled before the cardinals and bishops who had the charge of his conscience, not with the servility of a neophyte, but with the independence and the firmness of a prince who vindicated his policy while he submitted his faith. The Duke de Doudeauville, or the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, being acquainted by the prince with the wishes of the royal family, and of the superior clergy, went to communicate them to Madame du

Public animadversion on the King's favouritism.

Cayla, that she might prepare M. de Villèle for them, and predispose the King in their favour by her letters and her conversation. M. de Villèle, in his turn, waited assiduously on Madame du Cayla, to learn from her the opinions, the tendencies, and the wishes of the court and the church,—to admit what was admissible, to contest what was unreasonable, and to reject all that was exorbitant. Finally, Madame du Cayla communicated to the King through her correspondence, or insinuated to him in conversation, such measures as had been concerted between the Count d'Artois, the clerical party, and M. de Villèle; and thus by a woman's hand was imposed upon the lassitude and complaisance of the sovereign, the settled will of three factions.

In this manner was perpetuated without collision in the palace, in the ministry, and in the King's cabinet, the concord of the royal family, the ascendancy of the pious party, the preponderance of the prime minister, and the empire of Madame du Cayla. Louis XVIII. no longer reigned, but he lasted. Too intellectual to disguise from himself this semi-dethronement, he yielded to it through weakness, and avenged himself by sarcasms, and by prophecies, on the catastrophe which would ultimately punish the ambition of his brother.

The favour enjoyed by Madame du Cayla was the subject of public conversation and animadversion. The King's presents to her were estimated at enormous sums; she was even accused of underhand speculations in the funds, and was said to have lost more than a million and a-half in one of her speculations. Anecdotes and expressions were circulated at court calculated to cover this connection with odium and ridicule. But kings are least of all tolerated in their preferences; young princes are permitted to have passions, but a taint rests upon even the sentiments of old sovereigns. Scandals on the present occasion were either collected or invented.

The King, it was said, having conducted Madame du Cayla into the gallery of the Louvre, where the painters and sculptors annually expose their masterpieces to the admiration and competition of purchasers, begged of her to indicate amongst them the work she most preferred, that he might purchase it for her

Court anecdotes of this connection.

and place it in her collection. She is said to have fixed upon a picture on a scriptural subject, in which the beautiful Ruth falling at the feet of the aged Boaz, and soliciting the shelter of his tent, said to the patriarch who was charmed with her beauty: "My lord, spread thy mantle over me." a bold, and almost an indecent allusion in the relative situations of Madame du Cayla and the King.

It was also asserted that the King, embittered against his family and foreseeing the catastrophe which must succeed after his death, had placed in Madame du Cayla's hands a sealed letter, that was not to be opened until ten years after his death; in which letter, to prove to posterity his political prescience, he recounted beforehand the rash proceedings, the concessions, and the false steps of his brother's government.

But all these anecdotes, all these expressions, and all these mysteries, collected from the mouths of courtiers, the most intimate and the best-informed adherents of the palace, had no other certainty and no other value than they could derive from court whispers, and proved nothing more than the high favour of a woman and the malice of her rivals. History can only recount them without vouching for their accuracy.

XXIV.

The internal quiet of the country, and the calm that reigned throughout Europe, which had succeeded the conspiracies of the army, and the suppressed revolutions of Naples, of Turin, of Lisbon, and of Madrid, allowed the old age of the King to breathe in peace, and his mind to resume its elasticity. One part of Europe alone was still agitated under the pressure of slavery, which it was shaking off with heroic obstinacy,—this was Greece. But France being separated from it by the whole breadth of the continent and by the sea, its palpitations excited individual hearts alone, and had no effect as yet upon the country in general. The time, however, was not far distant, when pity and admiration for a race disinherited of its ancient grandeur and independence, would become true policy; and when kings themselves, unfaithful to their own dogma, and

constrained by the enthusiasm of their peoples, were to lend a helping hand to the insurrection against the right of possession of subjects by sovereigns, in the name of the Cross and of the rights of humanity.

The insurrection of Greece holds too distinguished a place in the events of the age, in the transactions of France, and in the future destinies of the East, not to demand a corresponding position in the history of the Restoration of the Bourbons. It was through it that they yielded to the spirit of the age, and did that in the East which they had already done in America : made a breach in the principle of their government, a contradiction to its nature, and a sacrifice to revolution and popularity.

BOOK FORTY-THIRD.

Insurrection in Greece—State of this country in 1820—Tolerance of the Ottoman regime for the religion of subject peoples—Unjust prejudices of Europe on this subject—The prelude to the movement—Ipsilanti displays the Hellenist standard in Moldo-Wallachia—Insurrection of Ali Pacha of Janina; the atrocities of this celebrated adventurer—The Hellenists rise in revolt—Germanos—Colocotroni—The Greek *Marseillaise* of Rhigas—Defeat of Ipsilanti—Sanguinary re-action at Constantinople; massacres; assassination of the patriarch—Heroism of the Hellenists—Excitement in Europe at the news—Formation of *Philhellenic* committees—Departure of Colonel Fabvier to assist the Greeks—Catastrophe of Ali Pacha—Greece implores the sympathy of Europe—Immobility of the governments (1820—1822.)

I.

NOTHING is isolated in the political any more than in the material world. The human mind is an element which finds its level everywhere, and which can neither rise nor fall in any of the human races, without a corresponding rise or fall in all the others. This is the law of mind as a level is the law of the air and the ocean. The liberating influx against the conquests of Napoleon, which had roused with shame the enslaved nations of Europe, from Cadiz to Moscow, and which had urged them on in arms to Paris, there to avenge their independence and their nationality, had produced a rebound even to the extremity of the European continent which borders upon Asia. The cry of deliverance of the oppressed races had resounded from Vienna, from Petersburg, and from Berlin, to the banks of the Danube and the mountains of Greece. At the same time that the German associations were planning the freemasonry of nations throughout all Germany, to compel their kings and governments to declare a national war against Napoleon, some young Greeks of the princely or wealthy families of Constantinople, of the Peloponnesus, or of the Greek islands, who

Singular position of the Greeks at Constantinople.

had assembled at Vienna in 1814, conceived the idea of regenerating their race, and formed themselves into an insurrectional association to bestow upon their country the hope, the signal, and the arms of liberty. The most illustrious of these young conspirators was Prince Alexander Ipsilanti.

II.

This young patriot was the son of one of the Greek princes of the *Fanar*, the Frank, or European quarter of Constantinople. These princes belonged to the privileged aristocracy of slavery, whom the Turks employed in their diplomacy, in their navy, and in their finance; slaves more illustrious, more wealthy, and more enlightened than their masters, who assisted them in governing other slaves. The servants, the favourites, and sometimes the accomplices of the despotism of the sultans and vizirs, invested with the vice-royalty of the Christian provinces, as *Hospodars* of Moldavia and Wallachia, these princes were by turns the favourites and the victims of despotism. The same caprice which had raised them to power cast them down again, and thus they passed almost periodically from the throne to the scaffold; their riches were confiscated, their magnificent palaces on the shores of the Bosphorus either burnt down or razed to the ground, and their wives and daughters reduced to slavery. Another caprice of sovereignty raised them up from ruin, and their sons attained the rank from which their houses had crumbled. These vicissitudes of fortune and adversity, of wealth and of misery, of grandeur and of execution, were so periodical and so frequent at the *Fanar*, that neither the gibbet nor the bow-string was held to be dishonourable by this Greek aristocracy, and a prince of this race even counted among his titles of distinction a long line of ancestors who had died upon the gallows after having lived in the divan.

III.

The Greek genius, written by the hand of nature in traits splendid, gracious, noble, and harmonious, on the forehead

Religious toleration of the Turks.

and in the eyes of this race, marked it with a classical beauty both in the male and female; and there was seen the natural aristocracy of intelligence and character, dethroned but not effaced by slavery. Subordinate in fortune, but not inferior in blood, these servants of the Empire seemed still to command their masters; and the Greeks of Constantinople appeared more like the allies than the subjects of the Ottomans. It had even the same appearance in several of the great towns of the Empire, and in the divans of all the Pachas. The Turks who loved to indulge in quietness and prayer when not engaged in the tumult of war, deputed to the Greeks the cares of administration, negotiation, and all civil functions, literature, arts, commerce, industry, navigation, or, in other words, every thing that can civilize, distinguish, polish, or enrich a nation. Of these two races, thus disposed face to face upon the same soil, the one must necessarily decrease in number and strength, though governing by the sword, and the other become greater and more numerous though enslaved by the law. This was actually the case in Turkey.

IV.

The Turks, a people essentially religious, while spreading their tribes and their deism by conquest through Arabia, Asia Minor, and Europe, as far as the Danube, had respected the established religions.* They had especially protected the religion of Christ, from whom Mahomet, their prophet, had borrowed all which, according to his ideas, did not militate against the unity and the immateriality of the *One God*, which he had arrogated to himself the mission of re-establishing upon the earth. He had declared the son of Mary to be a greater prophet than himself. Mahomet II., when he overturned the Greek empire and entered victorious into Constantinople, had excepted Christianity from his proscription of those politi-

* The author might have also added through North Africa and Asia generally; but their respect for established religions is at variance with the received idea, and indeed with the actual tenets of the Mahomedan faith.—TRANSLATOR.

Great spread of Christianity in Turkey.

cal institutions which he was replacing with the sword and the Koran. The patriarch of Constantinople, and the clergy of the conquered capital had walked pontifically before him on his triumphal entry into the city. He had ordered the re-opening of the ancient temples, and had built new churches for the Christian population, out of his treasury. This toleration of the conqueror had been imitated by his successors; and with the exception of some celebrated edifices which were converted into mosques for the Ottomans at Constantinople, at Damascus, and in Egypt, the sacred structures, the monasteries and the ministers of the Christian faith, had been objects of respect and protection in the Empire. The Turks, either more rational, or more generous than Europeans in matters of conscience, had neither their St. Bartholomew, nor their war of the Albigenses, nor their revocation of the Edict of Nantes, nor their proscriptions, nor their expropriations in mass, through difference of creeds. Their policy in this respect has been reversed in Europe; but in the East the sacerdotal character is a title of respect with the people. The vast number of Christian churches, sanctuaries, and monasteries, with which the Ottoman soil is covered, from Mount Lebanon to Mount Athos, is an irrefragable witness of the religious tolerance of the descendants of Othman. The Greeks were deprived of civil but not of religious liberty.

V.

There still remained then to this conquered people the three things which constitute the basis of nationality, even when it has been invaded and subjected civilly to another race: religion, name, and language, three principles of vitality in the sepulchre of a nation, by the aid of which it may still be restored by time and circumstances. The Greeks had still more; they had wealth and education. The Turkish government, careless about the intellectual development of its subjects, was an unskilful government which had not yet prescribed ignorance as a safeguard against freedom. Satisfied with the obedience of its *raïas*, it did not at least think of brutalising

Commercial prosperity of the Greeks.

their minds. Under the shadow of religious liberty, which protected schools and seminaries, the Greeks had spread around, and especially in the islands, institutions for popular instruction, literary associations, academics, professorships of sciences, literature, history, and medicine, which attracted the youth, perpetuated the language, made poetry popular, preserved the annals, and excited emulation, and which revived in all hearts the dignity of their name and race, and prepared after generations for revolt by the sentiment of their superiority

VI.

Commerce and navigation which had been given up to them, as mercenary occupations, by the pride of the Ottomans, had also concentrated in their hands the whole wealth of the Empire. Municipal liberty, and the governments of towns and islands by elective councils, chosen from amongst the respective populations, and paying only the tributes or exactions to the Pachas, constituted these islands and these Greek provinces into a species of federation, very apt to revolt against the common oppressor, and to combine together in the cause of freedom. Finally, the law which only permitted the Ottoman armies to be recruited from amongst the conquering race, diminished that source from year to year, and allowed the conquered race to increase and multiply. All these causes together had lessened the masters and magnified the slaves, so that the number of Christians in the Empire very much surpassed the number of Mahometans. The Turks still reigned, it is true, but they were nothing more than an armed aristocracy in the midst of a disarmed multitude. The Greeks, however, had long felt their strength, and looked out for allies in Europe, to give them the signal, the opportunity, and support. They had found these natural allies in the Russians, attached to them by two causes, which did not require preconcerting to be understood: identity of religion and community of hatred against the Turks. The first Greek insurrection had been fomented and sustained by a Russian fleet in the Morea in 1790, under the reign of Catherine II. Though it miscarried, in con-

They look to Europe for assistance.

sequence of the French revolution, which had recalled the attention of the Empress to the side of Germany, and had made her defer the ambitious views of Russia on the side of Asia, this insurrection in the Morea had left souvenirs, hopes, and seeds of liberty in the minds of the Greeks, who reckoned if not upon auxiliaries, at least upon sympathy at Petersburg. The triumph of the Russians on the Danube, and the arrival of a Russian fleet from the Black Sea before Constantinople, combined with an insurrection in the Peloponnesus and the islands, would leave nothing for the Turks but flight into Asia. The reign of the Russians over the Bosphorus would be the reign of the Greeks, re-establishing the Empire of the East in its capital, so long usurped by others.

This idea, or this dream, kept hope alive in the Morea and in the islands. Greece was going to make the attempt, and Europe was going to assist her ; but never did fatality that urges nations on to results which they see the best and dread the most, exhibit itself more distinctly in human affairs. Russia once mistress of the Bosphorus, of Constantinople, and of Greece, this was universal monarchy over Europe, Asia, and the Mediterranean. But never mind, the cry of freedom resounded upon the mountains of Epirus, and Europe was about to echo it, and to precipitate herself bodily, against her own interest, down the declivity on which hung the world. Religion was to serve as a pretext for liberty ; and while modern philosophy was sapping, or reforming Christianity in Europe, European liberalism was upholding the cause of Christianity in Greece, and preaching a crusade in the name of the revolution.

VII

Ipsilanti who, on attaining the age of manhood, had been received at the Russian court, to which from antiquity the Greeks had been always welcomed by the Scythians, had been raised by court favour to the rank of general in the Russian army, and had lost an arm in one of Alexander's battles against the French in Germany. Young, brave, ardent, and equally ambitious as patriotic, if not more so, imbued, in

Enterprise of Prince Ipsilanti.

the saloons and camps of the Emperor, with that traditional fraternity of the two peoples, which indicates the Russians to the Greeks as their countrymen of the North, and the Greeks to the Russians as a branch of their Eastern family, Ipsilanti, dreaming also of a tributary crown for himself like that which the favour of Catherine had bestowed on Poniatowski in Poland, collected around him, at first at Vienna, and afterwards in Bessarabia, a select body of Greek youth, either literary, liberal, or heroic, of whom he intended to form the nucleus of Hellenic patriotism. This youthful body had assumed in their secret association the name of *heteristes*, or friends. It is supposed, not without some probability, that such an association which included amongst its members some favourites, and some of the ministers of Alexander, was not, in reality, disavowed by the court, and that the Russian cabinet gave at least tacit encouragement to plans which could only lead to the shaking of the Turkish empire, and to its own ascendancy. These suspicions were authorised by the friendship which the Emperor Alexander openly professed for Capo d'Istria, a young Greek of Corfu, who had devoted his life to the cause of his country's freedom, but who was destined one day to fall under the poniards of his ungrateful and ferocious countrymen, whom he was endeavouring to civilise after he had restored them to freedom.

VIII

Ipsilanti, quitting Vienna and the Russian army in 1820, assembled the *heteristes* in Moldavia and Wallachia, and gave the signal for insurrection. The Hospodar of Wallachia, Alexander Soutzo, a Greek prince of the *Fanar*, governed this province for the Turks. He allowed the emissaries of Ipsilanti to seduce the Arnaut troops, whose duty it was to preserve the principalities in their allegiance to the Sultan. Having amassed great wealth during the two years of his government, being himself a Greek, and equally fearing to give himself up to the vengeance of the Divan by returning to Constantinople, or to incur the hatred of his race by opposing it, he shut his eyes to the manœuvres of the *heteristes*, and made preparations for

withdrawing to Europe, after he had sent thither all his riches. The Arnauts swore fidelity to Ipsilanti, who assumed the title of Representative of the Greek Nation, and who formed without opposition an insurrectionary army in a camp near Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. From thence his emissaries, spreading through Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, Epirus, the Christian provinces, and the Morea, invited millions of human beings to the enjoyment of freedom.

IX.

The situation of the Ottoman empire from the beginning of the century, and especially that of the Peloponnesus, offered the most favourable chances for the emancipation of the Christian population, and for a dismemberment of Islam. The Janissaries, the old standing army of the monarchy, had degenerated in valour and discipline during many preceding reigns. Being incapable of defending the empire without, against the Russian and Austrian forces, they were no longer fit for anything but to agitate internally by military seditions, by which they deposed, elevated, or strangled their sultans, just as it suited their interest or caprice.

After the tragical death of the virtuous and unfortunate Selim, twice the victim of their rebellion, the young Sultan Mahmoud was their captive, rather than their sovereign, in his palace. This prince, who from his cradle had been a witness of their insolence and their crimes, silently meditated their extermination; but, being young, timid, and surrounded by the executioners of his uncle Selim, having as yet no personal fame, no ascendancy over his people, and neither the political instruments nor the strength necessary for his design, he was obliged to dissemble his hatred, and to render the Janissaries unpopular before he struck them. They had contributed but too much themselves to this dislike of all true Ottomans, by the anarchy, the armed seditions, and the cowardice and defeats which had signalled the last wars of Mahmoud with Austria and Russia. The decline of this immense monarchy was written in each new treaty of peace, in the dismemberment of fortified places and provinces, and in the limits, more

Origin and rise of Ali Pacha.

and more restricted, within which the surrounding powers had enclosed it.

X

But these external humiliations were only a small part of the evil, for the interior of the empire was undermined, on the side of Epirus and the Morea, by a new *Scanderbeg*, sprung from the ranks of the Ottomans themselves. This was Ali, Pacha of Janina, one of the most heroic and crafty characters of modern times. He was already far advanced in years; but neither time, nor battles, nor stratagems, nor crimes, nor the voluptuous indulgence of his long life had deadened in him ambition, policy, craft, or audacity. From the extremity of a valley in Epirus, and from amidst his seraglio, he managed the strings of a thousand different intrigues with the Ottomans or the Christians; he counterbalanced the power of his master, and held the empire, as it were, in a state of suspension. It is known that the nature of the Ottoman government, exercised by officers almost independent of the sultan, over tribes differing from each other in laws, religion, and manners, frequently tolerates the existence of these powerful ringleaders, who employ against their sovereign the power they have received from him and make the seraglio tremble after having made it triumph. These sudden revolts and ephemeral states of independence disturb the empire without dismembering it. The sedition dies with its leader; there is no succession in these revolts, which are always marked by respect and deference for the legitimate and sacred blood of Ottoman. The provinces thus detached, and treasures accumulated by the rebels revert, sooner or later, to the sultan. Factions in Turkey have only a life interest, but the empire is perpetual

XI.

Ali Pacha *Tepelene* was born in the small town of Epirus from which he took his name, of a family of that Albanian race, Greek and Christian in origin, but Mussulman in habits and traditions like the majority of the Albanians. Veli Bey, his

Bold adventures of his father and mother.

father, being plundered of his portion of the paternal inheritance by his mercenary brothers, enrolled himself amongst the *Klephtes*, permanent bands of nomadic adventurers, who, like the *Condottieri* of the middle ages, or the Corsican bandits, are indigenous to Albania,—a school of war, of pillage, and of heroism, equally calculated to form robbers or heroes. Having returned to Tepelene with a handful of his companions, Veli Bey burned his brothers to death in the very house they had deprived him of, and re-conquered his inheritance amidst its ashes, and over the dead bodies of his oppressors. Being equally distinguished and dreaded for this exploit, he was appointed the Aga of Tepelene, when he married Chamco, the daughter of a Bey, a woman celebrated for beauty and energy of a wild and antique cast, and whose veins, it is said, could boast a few drops of the blood of Scanderbeg. Ali, and a daughter named Chainitza, owed their existence to this lady, and derived from her the energy, the passions, and the ferocity of her race.

Veli Bey died young; and Chameb, still in the flower of her age and her beauty, resolved to preserve for her children by intrigue, by love, and by force of arms, the authority which her husband had acquired over Tepelene. She abandoned the delicacy of female retirement, equipped herself in warrior's costume, with pistols, yatagan, and sabre, mounted her horse, captivated by her courage, her charms, and her love, the chiefs of the lofty Albanian mountains, formed a band of myrmidons, and gave battle at their head to the enemies of her house who contended against her for Tepelene. Being conquered, made prisoner, and put into fetters with her children, in the neighbouring town of Cardiki, her beauty and allurements softened the hearts of her conquerors: she was redeemed by the generosity of a Greek, who paid her ransom, and having returned to Tepelene, she devoted herself to the training of her son, young Ali, for war, for stratagem, and for vengeance. While still a mere youth he practised himself with his companions in carrying off flocks and surprising villages. His mother encouraged him in these indications of ambition, and having seen him return one day without either spoils or arms, from one of those expeditions in which he had been forced to fly; "Go, coward," she

His own enterprising and treacherous disposition.

said, presenting him with a distaff, "go and spin with the women, that suits you better than the use of arms!"

XII.

Ashamed of his weakness, Ali fled from the paternal roof, found a treasure in the ruins of an old castle while raking up the ground with his sabre, enlisted thirty *palikares* in his pay, and ravaged the whole country. Being surprised by the troops of Courd, Pacha of Albania, and conducted to Berat, the residence of this dignitary, to be there executed, Courd was softened by his youth and countenance, and restored him to his mother. Ali thus pardoned, and having returned to Tepelene, married Emine the daughter of the Pacha of Delvino, an alliance which gratified at once both his love and his ambition. Being sure of his father-in-law, he secretly induced him to favour the first attempts of Greek independence, fomented by Russia in 1790. Becoming the victim of this ambiguous policy, the unfortunate Pacha of Delvino was strangled at Monastir by the Turks. Ali gave his sister Chainitza in marriage to his successor, the Pacha of Argyro-Castro; but being speedily disgusted at the little influence he could exercise over his brother-in-law, he tried to prevail on his sister to relieve herself from her husband by poison, that she might marry Soliman, the Pacha's young brother, whom she loved. Chainitza having refused to commit this crime, Ali induced Soliman to shoot his own brother, and bestowed upon him the hand of his sister over the dead body of her husband.

A short time after this, the Porte having resolved on the destruction of Selim, Pacha of Delvino, the friend and protector of young Ali, the latter insinuated himself more and more into his confidence, invited him to a banquet in his house, concealed some assassins in a clothes press, and letting fall his cup of coffee on the marble floor of the divan, as a signal to the murderers, his friend was sacrificed before his face, he sent his head to Constantinople, and received as a recompense, the government of Thessaly with the title of Pacha.* Enriched by

* This functionary appears to have been strangled by the Turks, a few lines before. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus!*—TRANSLATOR.

He purchases the Pachalik of Janina.

his exactions in this government, he at length purchased the title of Pacha of Janina, one of the richest and most delicious valleys of Epirus.

XIII

Ali continued to flatter the Greeks by affecting a predilection for Christianity, from the desire that arose in his breast for the worship of his forefathers. He called them to his councils, and manœuvred between them and the Ottomans till he became necessary to both, drinking secretly with the Greeks to the health of the *Panagia*, or Virgin Mary. His administration being at once able and mercenary, he amassed immense treasures, which were concealed in a palace built upon a rock in the middle of the Lake of Janina, and which only communicated with the city by a narrow neck of land. These treasures enabled him to enlist troops, with whom he conquered by little and little the neighbouring territory, under pretence of putting down there the rebels to the power of the Sultan. In one of these expeditions, undertaken to revenge the captivity of his mother, which he had sworn to her he would do, he caused to be burned at a slow fire, and his flesh torn to pieces with red hot pincers, an Epirote who had insulted her in prison. Finding it more advantageous at that time to serve the Turks than the Greeks, he turned his arms against the Suliots, who had revolted at the instigation of Russia, and wrested their territory from them. He had already thirty thousand Mahometans under his orders, and was everywhere known by the title of the *Lion of Epirus*. The French Republic being mistress of Corfu, sent him generals and ambassadors, to flatter his pride, and to interest him in the liberating revolution of the Greeks of the Adriatic. He received them with policy, lulled them with hopes, and intoxicated them with the delights and voluptuousness of Janina, *the garden of beautiful women*. He even allowed the songs of the Greek poet Rhigas, the modern Tyrtæus of his race, to be sung in his palace; then suddenly changing his tone and his friends, he marched at the head of twenty thousand men against Passavan Oglou, the Pacha of Viddin, whom the talents of

His cruel disposition and cunning policy.

Rhigas had induced to declare for the Greeks. On his return to Janina, he arrested there the French general Rôse, who had but recently been married, through his intervention, to the fairest maiden of Epirus, and sent him in fetters to die a captive in the Seven Towers.

XIV

Fortune smiled on him in all directions. His eldest son Moukhtar, who was charged with the government during his absence, had roused his anger and his suspicions, by his love for a young Greek lady of Janina; but Ali removed him from her, under pretence of his commanding an expedition into Thessaly. Then entering the house of his son's mistress, Euphrosyne, by night, he overwhelmed her with terror, had her conducted in fetters into the dungeons of his seraglio, together with fifteen young girls of the principal families of the city, accused of criminal intercourse with his children, and the next day drowned them all in the lake. The blood of the Greeks was shed abundantly throughout his provinces: his wife Eminé having thrown herself at his feet to implore his pardon for the innocent Christians, he loaded her with reproaches, and firing his pistol over her head against the wall, he struck such terror into her that she died during the night. On this occasion, however, he bewailed the consequences of his fury, and never pardoned himself for having murdered the mother of his children, and the first author of his fortune

XV

Adroitly balancing his support, sometimes siding with the Divan, and sometimes with the Janissaries, during the long struggle between these rebels and the sultans, he advanced to the gates of Adrianople with eighty thousand men. Being dreaded by both parties, and equally dreading them himself, he never entered Constantinople, but declaring himself there every day to be a faithful supporter of the throne, he fortified his capital, and from thence reigned over Greece, which by turns he caressed and decimated. At the slightest sign from

The sultan declares open war against Ali Pacha.

him, those chiefs of the Peloponnesus, who appeared to be too popular, were sure to fall under the balls or the yatagans of his Arnauts.

Being struck with admiration, on the burning of a Greek village, at the beauty of a child twelve years old, named Vasiliki, who supplicated him to spare her family, he raised her from her knees, took her with him to Janina, had her brought up in his harem, and married her.

He was at this time upwards of sixty, and at the summit of his fortune; a portion of his treasures being skilfully and secretly distributed at Constantinople, by those agents whom the pachas employ at the court, preserved for him the favour of the vizirs and sultans. His two sons Veli and Moukhtar, were invested with secondary governments in the Morea, and in Macedonia and Thessaly. The whole Peloponnesus was in the hands of a family, whose intrepid, absolute, and mysterious chief made its two races hope and tremble by turns, from the summit of his mountain fortresses, while negotiating at the same time in the Adriatic, with the French or the English, borrowing from all in turn the means of acting against all.

Meanwhile Sultan Mahmoud, convinced of the necessity of extirpating this supporter of the insurrection which every rumour led him to anticipate amongst his Greek subjects, had decided with his well-known energy on open war with Ali Pacha, less ruinous to his empire, in his opinion, than those ambiguous schemes which allowed rebellion to increase. His armies, conducted by the most devoted and warlike of his pachas, had been, for the last two years, surrounding Ali Pacha in his mountains, constantly contracting the circle of towns and fortresses within which he was cooped up. But Ali, secure amidst his lakes, his defiles, and his ramparts, affected, even while fighting against his master, the respect of a faithful and forgotten slave, sometimes a conqueror, sometimes conquered, constantly lulling and corrupting the vizirs and pachas who were opposed to him. The Greeks, uncertain as to the part that would ultimately be taken by this arbiter of their liberties, saw in him sometimes the exterminator, and at others, the Maccabeus of their race.

XVI.

The proclamations and the emissaries of Ipsilanti, had imparted to the Peloponnesus the impulse and the longing for independence. Colocotroni, a chief of the first abortive insurrections, who for several years had led a retired life in the island of Zant, where time and exile had only served to ripen his heroism, and whose father, brothers, and relations, had perished under the Turkish sword, had again appeared upon the continent, and re-organised his bands of exiles in the mountains. Germanos, the Archbishop of Patras, an orator, a priest and warrior, had convoked a meeting in the caverns of Mount Erymanthus of all the heads of the clergy, to concert with them the insurrection of all their churches; he had summoned the Christians to separate themselves for ever from the infidels, and to retire with their priests, their wives, and their children into the mountains, to organise there a sacred war, and to rush down from thence upon the Ottomans. At his voice, the towns and villages were deserted, and the Turks, astonished at their solitude, made some assaults on those crowds of men whom they thought they could easily bring back to slavery, but they were beaten back everywhere from the mountains, and soon after driven from the towns even, where they were so recently the lords and masters.

Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Etolia, Peloponnesus, Eubœa, and the Archipelago had become one vast battle-field, by sea and land, which devoured by turns both the tyrants and the slaves. Ali Pacha, who was delighted to create enemies for his foes, addressed a proclamation to the Suliots whom he had formerly expelled from their country, and restored to them their territory and their fortresses, with artillery and ammunition, to make allies for himself against the Turks. On the approach of the peasants, descending in myriads from the mountains, under the guidance of their priests and chieftains, all the towns rising in revolt and attacking the Turks, had driven them into the forts, whence the Turks bombarded and set fire to the buildings. The crimes and massacres of

The Turks driven into the fortified towns.

liberty equalled those of tyranny. The Peloponnesus was one scene of fire and blood, under the Cross as well as under the Crescent; three ages of rigid slavery taking vengeance on three ages of oppression. Europe shuddered with horror at the narrative of these flames and massacres. Two races, two nations, and two religions were struggling with each other, body to body, upon the same soil, from the sea and the islands to the summits of Pindus and of Thessaly. Patras and Missolonghi were buried in ruins. The popular hymn of insurrection and despair, that *Marseillaise* of the Cross, written by the Thessalian Rhigas, resounded upon all the mountains with the sacred psalms of the Hellenic clergy.

"How long shall we live in exile amongst the rocks and mountains, wandering in the forests, hiding in the caverns of the earth?"

"Let us rise, and if we must die, let our country perish with us!"

"Let us rise! The law of God, sacred equality amongst his creatures, this is our cause, and here are our chiefs! Let us swear upon the Cross to break the yoke beneath which our heads are bent!"

"Souliots, and Spartiates! rush from your dens, leopards of the mountains! Eagles of Olympus! Vultures of Agrapha! Christians of the Save and the Danube, bold Macedonians to arms! Let your blood course like flame through your veins!"

"Dolphins of the seas! Halcyons of Hydra, of Psara, of the Cyclades! can you hear amidst your waves the voice of your country? Launch your ships, seize the thunderbolt, burn, even to the root, the tree of tyranny, unfurl your flags, and let the Cross triumphant become the standard of victory and of freedom!"

Under the inspiration of this song of the national poet, the Turks driven from the high land of the interior, shut themselves up in their last remaining towns on the sea coast, the ramparts of which assured them of an asylum, Tripolitza, Monembasia, Coron, Modon, and Navarino. Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, fell under the power of Vladimiresko, the tribune of a Christian democracy, supported by a handful of Albanians. Ipsilanti wavering, temporising, and irresolute,

Defeat and death of Prince Ipsilanti.

encamped before the gates of Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, and lost time there in vain negotiations with the Russians, from whom he expected authority and assistance. Being at length attacked in his camp by the Turks, recovered from their first alarm, he failed gloriously with the *heteristes*, and sought an asylum in the Austrian territories, where he died, disavowed by Europe, and suspected by his countrymen, of overweening ambition.

But this disavowal of their cause by Austria and Russia, and the defeat of Ipsilanti, did not damp the desperate valour of the Greeks of the Peloponnesus and the islands. In Wallachia and Moldavia it was policy, liberalism, and ambition which had armed some speculative revolutionists; but in the Morea, in the mountains, and in the islands, it was religion, race, country, and fanaticism, which roused the people, the sea and the soil. There was no repose for such an insurrection but in victory or death.

XVII.

But this fanaticism of religion, of race and of country, was no less ardent in the breasts of the Ottomans. For them it was a second conquest to be made, island by island, and village by village, of the land conquered by their ancestors, and of the sovereignty of Islam. The Sultan, while suppressing rebellion, would have wished to preserve the rebellious population from ruin and from death, for the destruction of six millions of Greeks, his riches and his strength, would be suicidal for the Porte. But the people and the Janissaries, trembling and irritated, saw no safety but in the extermination of the Christians, and demanded from the government executions and barbarities in proportion to the extremity of their terror. Constantinople was decimated by executions. The Janissaries slaughtered instead of fighting, while their ferocity was inflamed by the panic of the Mussulmans. Nothing was talked of in the capital but a universal conspiracy of the Christians to annihilate the Turks: fear kept up the delirium, and delirium urged on to crime. Wallachians and Moldavians, of the great families established at Constantinople, were beheaded,

Massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople.

on the pretext of complicity with their co-religionists. The Greek Christians, giving up their houses and their property, emigrated to Odessa: those who could not fly were compelled to shut themselves up in their houses, in the dread of exciting by their costume the fury of the people. Those who inhabited Bujuk-Déré, a small town on the Bosphorus, a few leagues from the capital, were massacred by the troops sent to Wallachia against Ipsilanti, who were determined to leave no enemies behind them. It was renewing at Constantinople the Parisian massacres of '92, under the same delirium of fear and vengeance; both climates producing similar crimes.

The populace of the capital butchered all the Christians they found in the *caïques*, boats which carry from shore to shore the traders of both populations united within the same walls. Order could not be re-established by the government, but by giving up to the swords of the Janissaries three hundred victims, suspected or innocent, of the principal Greek families of the city. The Dervishes, those prophets of the populace, predicted the approaching extermination of the Mussulmans by the infidels. The Divan ordered the execution of Prince Morouzi, dragoman of the minister of foreign affairs, accused of having received a letter from Ipsilanti; and his head was struck off in the presence of the Sultan. The Greek patriarch Gregoire, an old man of eighty-four, was seized on Easter Sunday, in his pontifical robes, as he came down the steps of the altar, and hanged at the door of his cathedral. All the heads of the Greek clergy of the capital, dragged on the same night from their altars, were slaughtered on the steps of their churches; and Janissaries, stationed near the heap of their dead bodies, prevented the Christians from rendering funeral rites to their martyrs. Their bodies, after being suspended for three days on gibbets, were delivered to hordes of famishing Jews who threw them into the sea, but they were afterwards cast ashore on the quays, from the waters of the Bosphorus. The families of the murdered persons, and the wives and daughters of those who were proscribed, were sold by auction in the baznars. A general massacre of the Greeks was even deliberated on in the Divan, but the Sultan refused

Naval victories of the Greeks over the Turks.

to accede to it, and disgraced his grand Vizir, to exonerate his government in the eyes of the Christian powers from all these atrocities. Europe looked on and shuddered, but no power as yet openly undertook the cause of Christianity, mingled as it was with that of rebellion in the Empire. Mahmoud having equipped his fleet, and given the command of it to his grand Admiral Kara Ali, the son of a miller of Trebizond, charged him *to bring back the ashes of the Peloponncsus, and to burn its very mountains to powder* .

XVIII.

To the massacres of Constanople, to the threats of disarmament, and to the departure of the Turkish fleet, the islands of the Archipelægo had responded by a general equipment of the numerous vessels with which the seas were covered by their commerce. Hydra, the poorest in its soil, but the most flourishing in its traffic and its wealth of all the islands, had created by her own efforts, and by the gratuitous gifts of her citizens, a fleet capable of repulsing that of the Empire. "Hydra has no fields," sang the sailors, "but with her ships she ploughs the main. The waves are her furrows, and seamen are her labourers; with her rapid sails she reaps the corn of Egypt, and gathers in her harvest of silk in Provence and her vintage on the hills of Greece."

Tombasis, an intrepid seaman, commanding the *Themistocles*, had been appointed grand admiral of the insurgents; and the fleet of Psara was joined to that of Tombasis. They cleared the sea of all single Turkish vessels of war, and imitating the atrocities of the Ottomans, they slaughtered, drowned, or sold by auction as slaves the Turkish prisoners, or pilgrims, captured in those vessels. They summoned together the opulent and populous Island of Chio to declare itself for their common country; but Chio, enervated by its prosperity, and exposed by its situation to the first vengeance of the Turks, refused to join the league, and sent a deputation of its old men to solicit from the Divan troops to defend it against its countrymen; but the Divan kept them as hostages, and

Turkish proceedings against Ali Pacha.

punished them for their fidelity to tyranny. Naxos, Andros, Paros, Mycone, and almost all the islands responded to the call of Psara and Hydra, and sacrificed the Ottomans.

XIX.

During these battles, and mutual massacres, in all the waters, and on all the coasts of the *Ægean* sea, Kourchid Pacha, at the head of the Ottoman army of Epirus, blockaded Ali Pacha in his capital with one half of his troops, while with the other he combatted the insurrection in the Peloponnesus. In a desperate assault old Ali Pacha, who was carried in a litter to the breach in the midst of the fire, repulsed the assailants and sent back the prisoners he made on the occasion. "The bear of the Pindus is still alive," Ali wrote to Kourchid, "you can send and bury your dead. I shall always act in the same manner when you fight me fairly; but two men alone are destroying all Turkey; we only court our own ruin!"

Ali being sure of the incorruptible fidelity of his troops, and the solidity of his ramparts, seemed to contemplate with stoical indifference the war which was devouring the two populations without touching himself, and to await the triumph of one or other of the causes before he should declare himself. His sister Chainitza, had just died, and the beautiful young Greek Vasiliki, now all powerful over his heart, consoled him under the attacks of age and tyranny by that love which, like heroism, bids defiance to time in the powerful races of the East. He was soon, however, compelled to abandon his capital and his fortified palace, before the repeated assaults, and the increasing forces of the Ottomans, and to retire to his castle in the Lake of Janina. There, surrounded by an impregnable girdle of waves, of ramparts, and of cannon, lodged in a casemate under shelter from the bombs, with his feet upon his treasures, piled up in the caverns of his palace, attended by faithful slaves, defended by devoted mercenaries, beloved by an affectionate and virtuous woman, and determined to brave death rather than succumb to fortune, he looked calmly on his city and his provinces in the hands of his enemies, thinking himself certain to re-conquer

European enthusiasm in favour of the Greeks.

them : as if for amusement he cannonaded their camps and redoubts, still exercising his courage and his arm in victorious sorties over their dead bodies, and he thus approached the termination of his life, covering the deformity of death with the illusions of fatality, of glory, and of love.

XX.

Meanwhile, the name of Greece, a sort of religion of the imagination amongst the literati of Europe, the conformity of faith, that link of the soul amongst men, the exploits, magnified by fame, of Botzaris, Canaris, Colocotroni, Mauro-Michalis, Tombasis, and Odysseus, those worthy descendants of the old heroes of Greece, combats changed into martyrdoms, the sonorous echoes of that land of memory, every spot of which bears immortality in its name, the almost fabulous narratives of those victories won by tribes of shepherds from the armies of a powerful empire, and whole fleets of the modern Xerxes burnt by the crews of fishing boats, the devastations of the soil, the migrations in mass, the slaughtering of whole provinces, the burning of towns, the prodigies of ferocity on the one side, and of intrepidity on the other, the recitals of which, brought by every sail from Greece, threw an air of poetry and romance over this desperate struggle between the Christians and the Ottomans, making every day more and more popular in Europe the cause of Grecian independence. Every mind dwelt with admiration, sympathy, and horror, on this vast combat of the circus, in which freedom and the cross, beat down and elevated by turns, seemed to display before the Christian world a mortal struggle of the two causes, and two religions, which contended for mastery in the eastern extremity of Europe

Public feeling, which like multitudes has no other policy than pity and emotion, responded to every palpitation of Greece, by a cry of indignation against her executioners, and of enthusiasm for her martyrs. The cause of American independence in 1785 had never so thoroughly excited France, as the cause of the Hellenists at this moment excited the whole Christian continent. This individual feeling, as it may be called, sepa-

Lord Byron's efforts in the cause of Greece.

rated itself from governments still neutral and undecided, to furnish the Greeks with encouragement, money, ammunition, arms, and auxiliaries. Greek committees were formed in all the capitals, which voted subsidies, equipped vessels, commissioned officers, recruited soldiers, published journals, pronounced speeches, wrote poems, and multiplied, even amongst the lowest classes, legends in favour of the popular cause. The whole world of literature, that spontaneous and irresistible expression of the unreflecting and disinterested generosity of the heart of nations, belonged, through a sort of traditionary filial love for those fathers of human thought, to the side of the children of Homer, of Demosthenes, and of Plato. Private individuals, such as M. Eynard of Geneva, proud of pouring their wealth into the cradle of a still indigent people, and of immortalising their names in founding the liberty of a nation, lent millions to the liberating government. The bold adventurers of France, of Germany, and of England, weary of that continental idleness which afforded no prospect for their arms, their glory, and their military fortune, such as General Fabvier, hastened in merchant vessels to the coast of the Morea, and devoted themselves to the wandering life of the Mainotes and the Palikaries, to teach the tactics and discipline of war to the Grecian herdsmen. The greatest of modern poets, Lord Byron, feeling a heart within his breast as heroic as his imagination, tore himself, in the flower of his age and his glory, from the delights and luxuries of Italy, and from the arms of an adored woman, to consecrate his name, his arm, his fortune, and his life to the disinterested cause of Greece. He equipped a vessel, enlisted troops, contributed loans to the insurrectional treasury, took post in the town that was nearest the danger, instructed himself in the art of war, and went forward to die for the glorious past and for the doubtful future of a people who did not even know his name.

Finally, the parliamentary oppositions which in constitutional countries adopt causes, not because they are just, but because they are popular and hostile to their respective governments, made every tribune resound with enthusiasm for the Greeks, with imprecations against the Ottomans, with contempt

General Fabvier devotes himself to Grecian independence.

for the apathy of those governments which abandoned Christian races to the fire and sword of the Mussulmans. Those same men, who had repulsed with such stern eloquence the doctrine of counter-revolutionary intervention in Spain, justified with the same voice the revolutionary intervention in the Morea, and M. de Chateaubriand who himself had accomplished the Spanish intervention, being now out of the ministry, and looking on all sides for grievances against M. de Villèle, brought forward motions in the tribune of the Chamber of Peers for intervention in the affairs of Greece.

XXI.

But France had already declared herself before her government. The first of her soldiers who adventured his name, his military science, and his blood amongst the insurgents of Achaia, was General Fabvier. This officer, who had but just escaped from the insurrectional attempt in which he had failed, at the head of a handful of French emigrants upon the Bidassao, had gone to Greece. His genius, restless and adventurous, urged him to search everywhere for service, danger, and glory; his hatred of the Bourbons driving him to all parts of the world.

In his early years Fabvier had accompanied our ambassador to Persia, where, having become a favourite with the Shah, and the instructor of his troops, he had resided for several years in the capital. Being still remembered at Ispahan, he resolved to go and seek there the hospitality and favour which he had received at the court of Iran. The vessel in which he was proceeding to Constantinople having touched at the Morea, Fabvier, seduced by the actual appearance of war, and by the admiration inspired by the exploits of these poor shepherds of Achaia, had given up the idea of Persia, and devoted himself, without rank or pay, to the cause of the weakest. He followed these peasants into their mountains, and taught them discipline and tactics. This was at the period when the Sultan Mahmoud had summoned to the assistance of Islam in danger, the semi-independent Pacha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, whose son, Ibrahim

Favourable disposition of the French government.

Pacha, had landed in the Morea with an Egyptian army, and re-conquered, amidst fire and slaughter, the whole of the Morea for the Sultan. Napoli di Romania alone, situated at the entrance of the plain of Argos, at the bottom of the gulf of Nauplia, still preserved a city and a seat of government for the cause of Hellenic independence. Fabvier defended this place with a handful of heroes, and after he had disciplined them gained some victories under the walls of Argos. From thence proceeding to Athens, he mingled his blood at Platea and at Marathon with that of the descendants of Epaminondas. Having been sent to France by his companions in arms, to solicit aid from the French government, in the name of their common religion, and of humanity, rather than of policy, Fabvier saw his country once more. The old and natural alliance between France and the sultans, the provident policy which forbade the Bourbons to ruin themselves in the fall of Constantinople, the only rampart which guarded the Mediterranean and eastern Europe from the northern inundation; finally, the danger of giving the cabinet of Petersburg an ally, sold beforehand to all its ambitious views, in a Grecian kingdom or republic, vainly protested in the councils of cold diplomacy; public feeling had already carried the point against all human prudence. M. de Villèle, seeing the impossibility of resisting so general an impulse of the feelings of Europe, forgot the faults committed by Fabvier against the Bourbons; he loaded the negociator of Greece with compliments on his personal devotion to the cause of that country, and gave him a glimpse, if not of an armed concurrence in the independence of Greece, at least of an effectual interposition on the part of France, between the victims and their executioners.

XXII.

But the independence of Greece had already received in Epirus the most terrible and unexpected blow. The tyrant of Janina, who for three years had, by his balancing policy, suspended the decisive irruption of the Ottoman troops into the Morea, was drawing towards the close of his career.

Janina invested by the Turks.

Kourchid Pacha, at the head of an army of forty thousand Turks, blockaded him more closely from day to day in the castle of Janina. Ali, confident in his walls, his garrison, and a small number of desperate adherents, all compromised with him in his revolt and in his crimes, and having, like himself, nothing in the perspective but victory or death, gazed with indifference at the tents of their enemies around their fortress, and received, without replying to them, the bullets which from the distance could scarcely make an impression on their walls. Treason alone could conquer him, and this was employed against him by the Porte. The commandant of his artillery was Caretto, a Neapolitan officer, whose life he had saved from the fury of the Turks, at the moment he was about to be immolated, in expiation of an intrigue with a Mussulman girl who was stoned to death on his account. This person deserted one night from the castle in the lake, by letting himself down to the foot of the ramparts with a rope tied to a gun carriage, and got off to the camp of Kourchid.

This defection deprived Ali of his most skilful engineer, and discovered to Kourchid the secret of his weakness. A party of the garrison, discontented with the ungrateful avarice of Ali, also retired from the fort. The Ottoman government took advantage of these disheartening circumstances to open with the old chief one of those negotiations which are nothing but preludes of death to those rebels who allow themselves to be entrapped by them. Kourchid accordingly made propositions to Ali, assured him, as the reward of his submission and repentance, of his life, his liberty, his wives, his treasures, his title of vizir, and a splendid exile with his family in a district of Asia Minor. These propositions, being accepted by Ali, were sent to Constantinople to be ratified by the Sultan, and returned to Janina in a treaty, the guarantee of pardon and of the promises of the Porte.

Kourchid, under the pretext of solemnly delivering this treaty fully ratified to Ali, and of receiving his submission to the Sultan, their supreme master, required Ali to come out of the impregnable castle of Janina, and to go to an island in the lake, where he had a country house, less inaccessible, and less

Treacherous stratagems against Ali Pacha.

fortified, where the interview could take place with equal forces on both sides. Ali Pacha had the imprudence to consent to this; but on quitting his chateau, he left within its walls a pledge of his safety or of his vengeance. One of his Albanian myrmidons, named Féthim, a young man bound by oaths the most dreadful amongst a race where the obligation of an oath is most sacred, kept watch, with a lighted match in his hand. at the door of a magazine filled with two hundred thousand quintals of powder, upon which were piled all the treasures of the Pacha; and the explosion of which, thus placed at the mercy of this young fanatical slave, would, at the first signal, have blown to atoms the riches of Ali, his harem, the city of Janina, and the Turkish army, which might attempt to occupy the castle in his absence.

XXIII

Thus guaranteed against all surprise, the Pacha went, with his young wife Vasiliki, some slaves, and a few of his most intrepid Albanians, to the island in the lake fixed on for the interview and negotiations. He established himself there in a pleasure kiosque, which was only defended by the lake and some palisades; he had arms and ammunition brought thither, and awaited, only half satisfied of his safety, the visit of Kourchid, and the delivery of the treaty, which he was told had arrived from Constantinople in the Turkish camp. Kourchid affected an illness which kept him confined to his tent, and consumed the time in messages and temporising, which afforded him opportunities of corrupting the garrison of the castle of Janina, thus left to their own discretion. But this was not enough so long as the lighthouse of the castle, near which the slave Féthim kept watch, should continue unextinguished, and threatening to blow into the air the assailants of the fortress.

But stratagem effected what power could not accomplish. Kourchid and his generals swore upon the Koran to Ali, that the firman of his pardon from the Grand Signore was in their hands; but that before they could place it in his, the honour of their common sovereign required that this firman, the spon-

His weakness in yielding to them.

taneous pledge of their master's magnanimity, should not appear to be a concession to fear, and that the fire in the lighthouse, which was confided to Féthim, and was burning at the door of the powder magazine, should be extinguished. For the first time Ali suspected the snare into which he was falling and under pretence that his slave Féthim would obey nothing but his voice, he asked to go back to the castle, to give him his orders personally in his fortress. It was now, however, too late, for the Turkish barks had already cut off the communication between the shore and the island. The Pacha, thus compelled to confide in the honour of his enemies, finished by giving to the officers of Kourchid a ring which he wore suspended from his neck, and which was the signal between him and Féthim for the blind obedience of the latter. The officers of Kourchid, when masters of this talisman, regained the shore, entered the castle, and showed it to the slave; upon which the young fanatic recognised his master's signet-ring, bowed his head in token of respect, and instantly extinguished the lighthouse fire. When the Turks saw him disarmed to the very last spark, they despatched him with their poniards, and left his dead body at the door of the magazine. No indication of this occurrence appeared from the walls of the castle; and Ali, still confiding, gazed tranquilly from the windows of his divan upon the waves of the lake, which were soon to bring him the boats of Kourchid and the pardon of the Sultan.

XXIV

These did not make their appearance till the middle of the day. They were filled with the principal officers of Kourchid, who landed with every mark of respect, though all were fully armed, on the beach from which arose the kiosk of Ali.

The Pacha awaited them, surrounded by a dozen of his most determined followers, upon a boarded platform, supported on short wooden pillars, which projected, in the oriental style of architecture, in front of the kiosk, in the rear of which were the residence and the harem of the Vizir. Hassan Pacha, Omer Brionès, and Mehemet Selictar, sword-bearer of Kourchid, and

He is treacherously murdered.

a group of his principal officers, were the only ones that landed, and with a sombre expression of countenance ascended the steps of the platform. Not perceiving Kourchid amongst them, and suspecting, from the gloomy looks and arms of his officers, that they were the bearers of treachery and death, instead of the treaty of peace and pardon, Ali rose up, drew a pistol from his girdle, and addressing Hassan Pacha in a voice of thunder: "Stop!" he cried, "what do you bring me?" "The order of the Sultan," replied Hassan "Do you recognise these august characters?" Then displaying before his eyes the golden letters which decorate the firmans of the Grand Signore: "Resign yourself to destiny," he said; "make your ablutions, invoke Allah and the prophet! The Sultan demands your head!" "My head," replied Ali, "is not given up so easily!" and without waiting for Hassan's reply he fired and stretched him at his feet, with a ball through the thigh; with a second pistol he killed the chief of Kourchid's staff. His officers, and at their head Constantine Botzaris, the Suliot chief, who was a hostage in his palace and devoted to his cause from gratitude, followed his example, and firing into the group of Ottomans who were ascending to the platform, covered the steps with their dead and wounded bodies. But Ali himself was struck with a ball in the side, and drawing his hand all covered with blood from under his pelisse, he showed it to Botzaris, exclaiming, "Run and kill Vasiliki, my wife, that she may go with me to the grave, and that these traitors may not tarnish her beauty!" He had scarcely pronounced these words when a ball fired through the boards of the platform, on which he stood, struck him in the small of the back and made him stagger like a drunken man. He held himself up by the bars of a window, but his palikaries seeing him fall, threw themselves, together with Botzaris, into the lake, and swam off to a neighbouring rock to conceal themselves from the vengeance of Kourchid. The Turks, having now no enemies to oppose them, hastened up the bloody steps of the platform, drew Ali by his white beard out of the kiosk, placed his neck upon one of the stone steps, cut off his head, and sent it in a silver-gilt coffer to the Sultan.

Coldness of the European powers to the Greeks.

His young Greek wife, Vasiliki, was taken, without insult or outrage, to the tent of Kourchid. She wept the next day on seeing the ministers and officers of her husband in chains, and his treasures and the decorations of his palace carried off amidst the rude merriment of the Turkish soldiery. She asked permission to pay funeral honours to the body of the hero of Epirus, whom she loved, in spite of the disparity of age and religion, and she was granted this favour. Janina and the neighbouring mountains of Pindus resounded with the wailings of Vasiliki, and of the Greek and Mussulman population of this wild region, of which Ali was at once the tyrant and the hero, the terror and the glory. The Sultan banished Vasiliki to one of the mountain villages. Ali's treasures paid the arrears of Kourchid's army, and the Turks relieved from the obstacle which this revolt had occasioned for the last three years, poured down in a torrent from Epirus upon the Morea, sweeping everything before it with fire and sword. and the cries of the Greeks resounded with greater despair than ever throughout Europe.

XXV

But though it was heard with answering sympathy by the peoples of the continent, the sovereigns turned a deaf ear to the cry. The Emperor of Russia, fearful of encouraging in Greece the genius of revolution which he had sworn to stifle in France, in Italy, in Spain, and in Germany, made his policy of ambition yield for the present to his policy of principle. M. de Metternich trembled at opening on the Austrian frontiers those volcanoes of opinion which were rumbling throughout Germany. Prussia, as usual, hesitated between England, Austria, and Russia. Even England herself looked with suspicion on the regeneration, unseasonable for her at least, of a nation the independence of which must weaken Turkey, open the Dardanelles, perhaps, to the future fleets of Russia, and create in the Mediterranean a formidable rival to her own naval and commercial supremacy there. Finally, France, more generally guided by impulse than calculation,

Prospect of intervention by the French.

fluctuated, commiserating but undecided, between her pity for a Christian race, and her old alliance with the sultans. But the time was approaching when her government, coerced by public opinion, was to deliberate on a second intervention, an impolitic, but a magnanimous contradiction to her counter-revolutionary intervention in Spain.

BOOK FORTY-FOURTH.

The last illness of Louis XVIII.—His gradual decline—Increasing importance of M. de Villèle—The King's efforts to conceal his approaching dissolution from the eyes of the public—Alarm of the Court, of the party of the Count d'Artois, and of the Clergy—Louis XVIII. postpones the aid of religion—It is determined to have recourse to Madame du Cayla—Negociation of M. de la Rochefoucauld—Madame du Cayla's success with the King—His last scene and death—Accession of Charles X.—Ingratitude of the reigning power to Madame du Cayla—Review of the life of Louis XVIII.—His exile—His reign—His portrait as a man and as a sovereign.

I.

BUT at this crisis in the affairs of the East, Louis XVIII., drawing near his end, was no longer in a condition to give due consideration to the resolutions essential for his government to come to on the question of external policy with reference to the Greek revolution, or to commit his subjects in a distant intervention, of which he could not foretell the vicissitudes, or control the events, any more than he could expect to see its conclusion. His mind was occupied by other thoughts, which more nearly concerned himself. He felt that he was dying, and he wished to die in peace. Great serenity with respect to his own reign, and great doubt as to that of his successor, prevailed during these latter years in his reflections, and in his conversations on the daily anxieties of the throne, and on the melancholy decay of his faculties. He did not endeavour to hide from himself the symptoms of weakness and approaching death which nature suggested to him. He did not complain of the condition of humanity, nor did he seek in the problematical resources of art, those miracles which the dying occupants of thrones so eagerly demand from their medical men; neither

did he fly to the practice of a puerile devotion for refuge or consolation against the terrors of conscience or the horrors of death. His firm and meditative mind looked on the past without shame, and to the future without dread. He relied, with just and royal pride, on the verdict that posterity would pass upon his reign; for no one knew better than himself the difficulties he had to conquer in the councils of Europe, in the exactions of his family, and in the versatility of his subjects, in twice reascending a throne, and maintaining himself thereon to the last. To die upon that throne appeared to him to be the triumph of his policy and his fortitude. His death-bed in the palace of his ancestors, in the midst of a vanquished revolution, and an emigration kept within bounds, was in his opinion the *chef d'œuvre* of wisdom, and a successful defiance of fortune. For what was to follow he relied upon Providence to justify him with posterity, and on the shallow mind of his brother to cause him to be equally regretted by the men of the revolution and the men of the monarchy. Louis XVIII. felt great affection for the character of the Count d'Artois, but never much esteem for his intellect. He had been accustomed from childhood to love him, and also to appreciate him confidentially with a degree of tender indulgence which was, however, allied to disdain. His reign incessantly clogged, or agitated by the adherents of his brother, had not induced him to change his opinion as to his political capacity; but his ill-humour against him had never conquered his affection. He was anxious, from family feeling, as well as from regard for the monarchy, to leave him a throne consolidated by institutions stronger than his caprice, and capable even of resisting his errors. He was still further anxious to leave him, in a minister accepted by himself, his own mind in his council after his death, that he might perpetuate his reign under another name. It was with this view that the King had accepted M. de Villèle from his brother's hands, that he had, by little and little, moulded this minister to his own policy, that he had yielded greatly to the Count d'Artois and to the clerical party, to attach them through gratitude to M. de Villèle,—and that he had bent the conclusion of his reign to the exactions of his family, to soften

Great power and authority of M. de Villèle.

the transition, and to without a shock over the critical step of the tomb.

II.

M. de Villèle, with a mind at once solid and souple, whom practice in political affairs, a knowledge of parties, and daily intercourse and conversation with the King had profoundly modified since 1814, was the man most happily chosen for this ministry of two reigns. By his prudence he reassured the dying king against any excess of royalism, or of sacerdotal power, which might agitate or irritate the country, while at the same time he reassured the Count d'Artois against such excesses of philosophy, or of liberalism as might alarm his conscience, or compromise his future authority. Being thus invested at the same time with full powers by the King, with the confidence of his brother, the esteem of the royal family, the ascendancy over the moderate royalists, with a certain secret inclination of the monarchical liberals, with the uncontested supremacy in the council, with the authority of talent in the Chamber, and finally, with the deference of Madame du Cayla herself, who feeling the power gliding away from her with the life of the King, wished to conciliate the gratitude and lasting amity of the minister; with all these advantages M. de Villèle exercised at this moment the real dictatorship of an interregnum. All parties felt that the King no longer governed, and that his brother had not yet begun to govern, and seemed tacitly to agree that the minister should have the entire control of the crisis they were about to pass through. There are critical moments in the existence of nations, when the passions of themselves are silent and inactive before the gravity of an event which inspires all with prudence, as if the instinct of one common danger had infused a transient but superhuman wisdom into a people attentive to its own fate.

III

Meanwhile, in the eyes of the multitude, the King seemed still to govern. In spite of the calumnies and sarcasms with

Fortitude and courage of Louis XVIII.

which parties hostile to the Bourbons had filled the minds of the people, by availing themselves of everything against the King, even to his old age and infirmities, the country had a conviction of his intelligence and wisdom, and a vague presentiment of the incapacity of his successor. Louis XVIII., especially in the latter period of his life, had excited the love, and the anticipative regret of his subjects. Ingratitude sometimes blushes before death, and gratitude does not always await the tardy reward of posterity. The court and the ministers, therefore, knew that the near symptoms of a change of reign would violently agitate and dispirit the country; and the King himself knew this better than any one. He believed that the people loved him, because he was conscious of having merited well of public opinion. He wished to render one last service to his kingdom and his family, by quietly departing both from life and throne, and concealing from his people, to the very last, the decay of his strength,—which, however, he was conscious of himself,—by showing, as he familiarly expressed himself to his ministers, *a good face to the enemy*, and by leaving no interval, no period for uncertainty and agitation between his brother's reign and his own. Solicitous above all about public credit and the price of the funds, the high rate of which was a pledge to him of that pacific prosperity to which he had restored France by his liberal policy, he dreaded that the announcement of his approaching death might suspend this upward movement of prosperity and confidence, the wealth of private persons as well as of the state. This thought preoccupied his mind more than all the others, he was so anxious that no pecuniary crisis should aggravate after his death the difficulties of the change of reign. He endeavoured to make others believe that he had still many years before him, when he himself only looked forward to a very few days. The cool precision with which, in his most private intimacy, he calculated the very few that were still left him to live, the stoic solicitude with which he prescribed beforehand the measures to be taken to conceal his last moments, indicated his possession of that reflective bravery which is more rare than that of the battle-field; that philosophical courage

He maintains his dignity to the last.

without ostentation, enthusiasm, or illusion, which can look on the sepulchre at the foot of the throne, and can dispose itself to descend into it with becoming dignity.

IV

M. de Villèle was the only confidant of his final preparations for death. The day on which this minister laid before him for signature the ordinance declaring the liberty of the press under suspicion, and establishing the censorship, in order to prevent the journals from publishing, in France and in Europe, the state of the King's health, the King gave his minister a glance of intelligence, and feeling from this prudential measure the extremity in which he really stood, "I understand you," he said with a firm voice, and taking the paper from M. de Villèle, he signed, slowly and without trembling, the ordinance which, however, he knew might be looked upon as his own death warrant.

But he did not the less continue to subject himself to the trouble of all the private and official receptions, and to all the etiquette of his chamber and of the palace, which might deceive his courtiers and his subjects on the score of his health. He took his ordinary carriage exercise, and when the rapid decay of his strength did not suffer him to enjoy it any longer, he ordered his gentlemen to go in his stead, that the sight of his equipage in the drives he was accustomed to frequent might impose upon and reassure the multitude. On the approach of his birth-day his physicians dreaded the fatigue of a public reception by him of all the great bodies of the state, and begged of him to adjourn this regal ceremony; but he gave an energetic refusal. "A king," he said, "should never be indisposed to his people!" He accordingly had himself dressed up in his royal costume and decorations, and sat on his throne in the hall where the crowd officially defiled before him. He exerted himself to the complete exhaustion of his strength to preserve the attitude, the look, the presence of mind, and the customary smile of his days of audience; and he bore for many hours the sufferings occasioned by this long dissimulation of his ap-

Rapid decay of his physical powers.

proaching death. It was only at the end that his pains and weakness betrayed the firmness of his mind. With his pale and meagre countenance bent down, and his head declined upon his breast till it almost touched his knees, he slept as soundly as if he was already dead ; and the last of his courtiers who silently moved past the foot of his throne, fancied themselves defiling before the phantom of the deceased monarch. He was borne, still asleep, into his apartments ; his obstinate firmness having increased the public alarm which he had wished to dissipate.

V

On the following day, however, the King resumed his ordinary habits and occupations. He arose at the same hour, was dressed with the same attention to personal appearance, sat in his cabinet at the same table, tried to read the same books, was exact in his correspondence with his fair friend at the customary hours, which gave vent to his caprice, or consolation to his breast, presided at the council of ministers, and discussed, with entire freedom of will and faculty, the questions of state or of administration which were laid before him ; except that the sleep of old age, his only illness, with which he was every moment attacked, from the exhaustion of his strength, frequently interrupted his attention and observations. On these occasions his head fell with all its weight, and with so much force upon the table, that the frequency of these collisions with the bronze border of his desk had made an ugly scar upon his forehead.

His increasing weakness and tendency to sleep especially attracted the notice of his physicians. Every Wednesday, the day set apart by him for the long audiences which he still gave to Madame du Cayla, the necessary attention and conversation causing additional excitement still further exhausted his vitality. Madame du Cayla, who perceived the approach of death, as well as the murmurs of the court and royal family, implored him to dispense with her visits, and retired to her chateau of St. Ouen near Paris. The King himself with difficulty made this sacrifice of attachment to motives of propriety, and from his grief it

He declines all spiritual aid.

might be said that it cost him more to give up friendship than the throne. Though he might no longer be a king, yet he was still a man. No prince falsely accused of insensibility and selfishness ever had more occasion for affection, or ever had more obstinately devoted his first and last days to the charms and even to the slavery of his attachments. He occupied himself to his last moments in thinking of the provision he might secure after his death to her that he loved.

VI

The royal family, satisfied with the removal of Madame du Cayla, lavished the most affectionate cares upon the King, to make him forget his fair absent friend. The ambitious party of the clergy, which she had served so usefully, braving so many scruples, and so many malignant insinuations, now cast away an instrument which might become a source of scandal, and rejoiced at having purified the palace of all suspicion and all equivocal appearance. Some, with a sincere and pious zeal for the eternal salvation of the King, and for the edification of the people, and others from a sense of royal propriety, and to show that a prince suspected of philosophy and incredulity had at last acknowledged the faith of his fathers, and died surrounded by the priests of his kingdom, beset the royal family, and the most confidential courtiers of the King's chamber, to inspire him with a wish for the pious ceremonies which the church offers to the dying, and which it invests with additional solemnity for kings. The Count d'Artois, who loved the King with the double affection of a brother and a Christian, the Duke d'Angoulême, a prince modestly but most sincerely pious, the Duchess, his wife, daughter of Louis XVI., who had imbibed, from the dungeons and the martyrdom of her family, a religion steeped in tears and blood, had frequently, but in vain, attempted to excite in the mind of the King a wish for the consolations of the church, respect preventing them from expressing themselves more distinctly. Louis XVIII. was attentive, but deaf in appearance, to all these insinuations of his family and his courtiers.

His philosophy greater than his religion.

VII.

This prince was, like a majority of the gentlemen of his age, a man of two souls and of two centuries. Brought up in the arms of the church, which was, before the revolution, the second nurse of princes; inspired at a later period with freedom of thought and the incredulity of philosophy; full of the doubts of the age and the maxims of deism; finally, being hurled from the steps of the throne on the same day that the church and the altar were themselves thrown down, and surrounded by their exiles, their bishops, and their martyrs, all victims of one common catastrophe, during the emigration, he was at once a believer from childhood, a philosopher from maturity, and a sceptic in old age, but above all, he was a king and a Bourbon. These natural contradictions struggled with each other in his breast, as with all the emigrants of the same period, and gave rise to striking, and often very unsophisticated contrasts in men who were born in one age, lived in another, and who were but ill at ease in both.

VIII

The intellectual society, and the reading of Louis XVIII. before and during the revolution, and his philosophical studies during his exile, had liberated his mind from many of the official superstitions of his childhood; on the other hand his character of the most Christian King to be kept up in the face of Europe and of France, his relationship to the royal martyr, his ancient alliance with the religion of St. Louis, his train of bishops, his title of restorer of the throne and the altar, his intercourse, epistolary and social, in foreign countries with the great writers, anti-revolutionary and anti philosophical, such as De Bonald, De Maistre, and De Chateaubriand; finally, his court and his government, full of the representatives of the clerical party, and the strength which the restoration derived from this conscience-ruling party had, if not converted, at least constrained Louis XVIII. to an official orthodoxy which clashed

But he maintains its outward ceremonies.

with his preconceived ideas, but which was becoming to his reign. During its first years he spoke of religion as a king when in public, as a philosopher in private, but always with decency, and like a sovereign who looked upon the church as the great progenitor of his dynasty, and the great etiquette of his court.* Such was Louis XVIII. since 1814 and 1816. His public life was conformable to these dispositions of his mind; the assiduous exercise of divine worship formed part of his kingly ceremonial, and he attended it with all the solemnity of Louis XIV. In private life he preserved his freedom of thought, and even indulged in that light raillery at popular superstitions, and those occasionally bitter smiles at the prostration of his brother before the clergy, which exhibited the philosophical independence of the man, under the external respect of the Bourbon and the sovereign. He did not, like Louis XIV., give up his conscience to a Tellier; for though he had an official confessor, as a necessary adjunct to the royal household, he never appeared at court, nor did he govern the King's conscience, or exercise any influence over public affairs. An humble and obscure priest, exiled to the attics of the Tuileries, and a stranger to every ambitious faction of the clergy, had been chosen by the King for the sanctity of his life, and the disinterestedness of his faith. A man of God concealed, for the religious consolation of the prince, behind the curtain of the temple, and in the deep shadows of the palace.

IX.

Louis XVIII., resembling in this respect his grandfather Louis XV., had never, even in his dissipated moments, closed the door behind him against a return to the belief of his family and his youth. He even affected, with an ostentation of theological learning, a certain sacred knowledge of ecclesiastical dogmas and ceremonies, suitable, he said, to a successor of Charlemagne and a sovereign who called himself the first bishop of his kingdom. He took a pleasure in puzzling on these subjects the doctors of divinity, the theologians, and the cardinals of his court;—an intellectual badinage rather than pretension to piety

His vacillation between philosophy and the Church.

No one was deceived by it, and the clergy themselves, while they affected to represent him to the people as the restorer of the church, only recognised in him a rank philosopher, corrupted from his infancy upwards by the vices of an incredulous age, and leagued at a later period with the legislators of the Constituent Assembly, for liberty of conscience, and abolition of the temporal power of the church.

X

During the latter years of his life, however, and since the increase of those infirmities which carry the thoughts of man beyond a period that every day becomes shorter and more obscure to view, Louis XVIII. more frequently turned his looks towards heaven, where he sought for the hopes and consolation he could no longer find here below. He loved to talk of things eternal, and a strain of pious melancholy ran through and softened his most familiar conversations. A philosophical Christianity freeing the soul from the superstitions of the vulgar, but sanctifying it by a perfect morality, and deifying it by immortal convictions, seemed from day to day to bring him still nearer, by circuitous approaches, to his household gods, and to reconcile in his behalf the light of lofty reason, with the wants and wishes of an humble faith. The hints and observations of Madame du Cayla, in whose breast a feminine devotion was sincerely associated, as in that of Madame de Maintenon, with her influence over the royal heart, had still further disposed the mind of Louis XVIII. to religious observances. This was the part and the mission of Madame du Cayla in her intimacy with the King. But exclusive of this almost official position of the emissary of the clerical party in the royal cabinet, the affection of a woman has always in it some touch of piety; and affection or a beloved woman, especially at an age when love and life are both ebbing together, makes the soul flexible, and bends it easily under the contagious credulity of feminine tenderness. Death, therefore, found Louis XVIII. very well disposed to resign his life religiously to the stern master of kings.

The efforts of his family and others are all vain.

XI

But whether from mental repugnance to profess with his mouth when dying, dogmas which his heart did not entirely acknowledge, or whether through dread of prematurely surrendering his conscience to those clerical dignitaries, who were masters of his brother's soul and were thirsting for his, who might abuse the weakness of a dying man to exact from him some signal acts of orthodoxy, opposed to the spirit of his reign and the liberty of his dynasty, the King put off from day to day the religious ceremonies with which they were desirous of surrounding his last bed. Meanwhile death was invading his whole frame, all but his head, which seemed to increase in intellect, in serenity, and mental majesty, in proportion as life abandoned the inferior parts of the body. His legs already beginning to mortify were incapable of motion, and his toes fell off at the joints like the dead branches of a still living tree. The Count d'Artois and the royal family, full of impatient solicitude for the eternal welfare of a brother and an uncle deaf to their pious hints, became uneasy at a delay which, in their opinion, so greatly increased the anger of God. The cardinals and bishops of the court who formed the Count d'Artois' council of conscience, and whose ecclesiastical positions made them responsible to France for the orthodoxy of the King, and to the church for his eternal salvation, were in a state of excitement and anxiety in the ante-chambers of the royal apartment. Cardinal de Latil, Cardinal de Croi, the Bishop of Hermopolis, M. de Frayssinous, and the other heads of the church, assembled in council under the influence of these fears. They deliberated on the measures to be taken to exonerate their ecclesiastical responsibility before God and men. They determined, in concert with the princes and princesses of the family, to make a painful but necessary communication to the King on the alarming condition in which he was, and on the danger of postponing any longer the assistance of the church. M. de Frayssinous, the most gentle, the most affable, and the most eloquent of these ministers of God, was charged by his

To bring him to a sense of religious duties.

colleagues with this delicate mission. His title as a minister of religion, and his official intercourse with the King, veiled under the appearance of an ordinary audience this painful appeal to the dying man. He spoke to the King as a minister and a friend devoted to the welfare of his soul, rather than as an imperious and importunate priest. He softened, with all the flexibility and grace of his character and language, the sad truth which his mission revealed to his master. The King, who esteemed and loved him for his moderation in public affairs, listened to him without surprise and without anger; but he persisted in declining the last ceremonies, under the apprehension, he said, of prematurely alarming his people, and he dismissed the envoy of the priesthood with a degree of firmness which redoubled the fears of the court and the church. Nothing was talked of in the apartments of the Count d'Artois, in the halls of the palace, and in the coteries of the religious party, but the repugnance of the King which so much resembled impiety, the grief of the royal family so uncertain of the eternal salvation of its chief, the scandal to the church, disavowed at the last gasp, by its temporal restorer, and the triumph for the philosophical party. Agitation increased around this bed of death; and the monarch was not spared from muttered, but disrespectful reproaches, for his irreligion, impenitence, and impiety.

XII.

Being a constant witness of this anxiety of the royal family, and anguish of the church party, the young Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, who had introduced Madame du Cayla into the King's cabinet, to infuse into the royal breast the policy of his party, ventured to propose her to the royal family and the bishops, to bear to the dying bed of the old sovereign the counsels and supplications of his family, and to conjure away the obloquy with which the church and the court were threatened. Despair made them accept her intervention; upon which the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, who, through his semi-ministerial functions had access to the King, presented himself on

Interference of M. de la Rochefoucauld.

Saturday, the day for the discussion of the fine arts, at the door of the royal cabinet, and was admitted. He found his Majesty sitting, as he was accustomed to do every morning, in the recess of a window, before the little desk at which he still endeavoured to trace a few lines, with a hand trembling and worn away with suffering. His head, bent down upon his breast, rose and fell alternately, from his chair to the table, and from the table to his chair, his forehead striking, at each forward movement, the edge of the desk with as dull a sound as the pendulum of his clock. His legs were swathed up with a furred cloak; but his toilette was quite as elaborate, and his head as artistically dressed as on his days of audience. His cheeks were sunk and hollow, but his lips still endeavoured to wear a smile, and his blue eyes beamed with as much light and majesty as ever; a lethargic doze, and a constant awaking, opened and shut them alternately.

M. de la Rochefoucauld opened his portfolio, and presented for his Majesty's signature some unimportant documents, which he signed painfully and abstractedly, but with the full possession of his faculties. A conversation then ensued between the King and the young courtier. M. de la Rochefoucauld, after expressing to his sovereign the sorrow and anxiety with which his illness affected the hearts of the whole kingdom, and the hope entertained of his speedy restoration, added: "But there is, Sire, one person above all to whom the absence which your tenderness has imposed upon her is a grief which surpasses all others, and who longs with filial impatience for the day when she will be permitted to offer your Majesty her congratulations, her assistance, and her good wishes. This person is Madame du Cayla!" The King gave a slight start at this name; but he affected not to have heard it, and made no reply. "Yes, your Majesty," continued the negociator, "Madame du Cayla, who is now the most unhappy of women, would be the happiest to-morrow if she was once more permitted to see the sovereign and friend to whom all her thoughts are devoted, and again sometimes to enjoy that intimacy which has been the glory and happiness of her life, and in which the King himself has deigned to seek for the consolations of

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He proposes to call in Madame du Cayla.

friendship." The King once more raised his eyelids,—closed them again,—appeared to reflect,—and still continued silent. M. de la Rochefoucauld was neither discouraged by the look nor the mute gesture of the sovereign, which seemed tacitly to demand his forbearance, and to disguise a refusal under the mask of silence. He accordingly redoubled his entreaties; he pathetically represented to the King the tenderness he would find in the heart of a woman, who, after his own family, was the most grateful and devoted person in his kingdom; he described to him the disquietude and anguish in which this friend, removed from him by his tenderness, passed her days, hoping and fearing everything; compelled to discover at a distance the symptoms of the debility or convalescence of him who was the object of all her thoughts, and to learn only from public rumour what no other person upon earth longed to know with more anxiety and tenderness. He added, that this absolute separation, at the end of so long and so pure an intimacy, combined humiliation with sorrow; by imparting, in the eyes of the court and of the world, to a removal altogether paternal, the appearance of disgrace and dissatisfaction, which offended while it broke the heart. In short, he forgot nothing which could shake, convince, or subdue the heart of a friend.

XIII.

At the conclusion of these entreaties, the King at length fixed upon Madame du Cayla's friend one of those long looks which he knew how to make speak though his lips were silent, when he wished to be understood by a hint, and which penetrated alike to the souls of his friends and his enemies; then, as if desirous of exonerating himself in the eyes of his family from a consent which he appeared at the same time to be equally desirous and afraid of giving: "You will have it so," he said; "well then! go and tell Madame du Cayla that I shall receive her." And after this effort he fell again into a lethargic doze.

M. de la Rochefoucauld, availing himself of an acquiescence which was forced rather than obtained, and fearful of his recalling it on second thoughts when he should awake, hastened

His negotiation with Madame du Cayla.

to snatch his portfolio from the table, and to depart on tiptoe, without noise, that he might not excite the attention of the King. He mounted his horse at the palace gates, and rode off instantly to St. Ouen.

XIV

He found Madame du Cayla there, alone and in tears. He acquainted her with the agitation of the court, the grief of all pious men, the scandal of the bishops, the indecision and rapid decline of the King, the wishes of the royal family, which were now orders for her, and, in fine, his interview with the dying monarch, and the words in which he had invited her to his dying bed. He entreated her not to lose an instant in accomplishing the sad and difficult mission which friendship, the court, the church, and even heaven itself seemed anxious she should undertake, of reconciling the King to the idea of that sacred assistance and those solemn offices, which he owed to his kingdom, to his house, and to himself. Madame du Cayla was moved, affected, and unhappy, but inflexible in her resolution not to appear again at court, to endure afresh the stern looks of the family, and the odious and evil interpretation that would be given to a proceeding which public malignity would misconstrue into a mercenary besetting of the dying monarch. She wept, covered her face with her hands, and struggled long, with sighs and sobs, between her invincible repugnance to repass the threshold of the palace, her attachment to the King, and the dread of offending by a refusal the royal family, upon whom her fate would now depend, M. de Villèle, whom she might involve in her disgrace, and the religious party who demanded this last service at her hands. She yielded at length, but not without hesitation and sorrow, to the reasons adduced by her friend, and to the wishes of the dying King. Her carriage having been got ready during this struggle, by the orders of M. de la Rochefoucauld, she departed rapidly for Paris.

Madame du Cayla visits the King,

XV

She was instantly admitted to the King's apartment; but no one knows anything of this final interview except what she herself told her young friend, on issuing for the last time, veiled and tottering, from that conference, wherein royalty, friendship, and death, had exchanged their last looks and their last effusions. After the first sorrows and emotions of such an interview, of which she revealed nothing, "Sire," she said to the dying monarch, "it now only remains for me to give your majesty one proof of attachment more painful and momentous than all the others. Your enemies, who have calumniated your life, are endeavouring now to calumniate your death. They have raised a report, to the great scandal of all loyal and religious men in your kingdom, that you drive away disdainfully from your bed of sickness the ministers of religion, who vainly offer you their prayers, and who afflict themselves for the salvation of your soul and the edification of your people, at the delays and procrastination you throw in the way of their sacred ministry. They even go so far as to call in question the faith of His Most Christian Majesty, and to confound you with those philosophers and impious persons of a former age, who, by their unbelief, have sapped at the same time your royal throne and the altar of your God. Your family is afflicted, your clergy humbled, the friends of your dynasty lament, the more tender friends of your heart and memory are dismayed; and being still more attached to you as a man and a Christian than as a monarch, they supplicate heaven with tears to inspire you with those thoughts which can alone render the affections eternal! Even I myself, Sire, may perhaps have to suffer the penalty of this procrastination; I shall be accused of having faltered in the first duty of friendship, if I have not sufficient command over my own grief to be able to describe to you the affliction of the church, or sufficient influence in your heart to induce you to satisfy these wishes of your family, and these scruples of religion. In the name of God, Sire, in the name of your own soul, in the name of her who has borne you to this day so tender and so grateful an affection, and who no longer thinks

Who consents to receive the aid of religion.

of anything but your glory here below, and your immortality in heaven, consent to what is required of you by your name, by your subjects, by your faith, and which your friend now supplicates you, in their name, to grant to the edification of your people!"

XVI

The King, without evincing either dissatisfaction at the freedom of these words, or alarm, or earnestness, or repugnance, gazed on his fair friend with a profound, firm, and sorrowful look. "You alone, Madame," he at length said in a voice of emotion, "could venture to speak to me in this manner: I understand you, and I will do what it becomes me to do." Then holding out his hand, which she kissed and bathed with her tears: "Farewell!" he said, restraining a sob, "Farewell, till we meet again in the other world!"

She then retired; and the King having immediately summoned M. de Villèle, terminated with him all those affairs which he wished to leave in a finished state behind him: "Henceforward," he said to him, "you will transact business with my brother. I have nothing further to think of but the great business of death; and I do not wish to be distracted in that by worldly cares which are now at an end with me." He expressed with sensibility to this minister and his colleagues his satisfaction with their services, and dismissed them as at the conclusion of a final council. He then summoned to his bedside, the obscure and pious priest whom he had made his confessor, and opened his soul to him in private; after which he directed the usual pomp and solemnities for the death-bed of kings to be prepared; and while the royal chaplain, the cardinals and the bishops were assembling at the door of his bed-chamber, to perform these funeral offices, he summoned all his family to his presence.

It was about sunset on the 15th September, 1824, and the King was just waking from a long lethargic slumber which had made his attendants believe it was his last. His eyes had resumed their usual brightness, his voice was clear and distinct, and his countenance displayed his customary firmness,

His last interview with his family.

and presence of mind. His brother was kneeling and weeping at the foot of his bed, the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême were praying by his side, and between them and the Count d'Artois was the Duchess de Berri, holding her two children by their hands; the courtiers and attendants stood at a distance, so that they might see but could not hear the last farewell of the dying King with his family. A few words only could be distinguished. These were the adieus of a brother, an uncle, and a friend, but especially of a sage and a monarch, desirous of leaving behind him the wisdom, the experience, and the foresight, necessary for the guidance of the throne. "Love one another," he said, "and let this affection console you for the disasters and the ruin of our house. Divine Providence has replaced us upon the throne. I have been enabled to maintain you there by moderate measures, which have deprived the monarchy of no real power, but have given it the approbation and support of the people. The charter is the best inheritance I can give you; preserve it, my brother, for my sake, for the sake of our subjects, and for your own! And also," he added, raising his hands and blessing the young Duke de Bordeaux, who was held forward by his mother towards the King, "for the sake of this child, to whom you will transmit the throne after *my son and daughter!*" (titles of affection which he gave to the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême). Then looking at the Duke de Bordeaux, he said, "May you, my child, be more wise and happy than your parents!"

The rest was inaudible, being muttered in a low voice to the nearest and most afflicted group of the royal family; nothing was heard but repeated adieus, sighs, and sobs around the bed and in the halls. The princes and princesses arose, and retiring a little, made way for the cardinals and bishops who came to administer the last offices to the King.

He received these sacred ceremonies with collected piety and undisturbed attention, responding sometimes himself by verses from the Latin psalms, to those chaunted by the bishops and cardinals. He thanked them, and took an eternal farewell of the officers of his household. One individual who mingled with them, and was concealed amongst the crowd where the

Death of Louis XVIII.

King's eye recognised him, prayed and wept over his master and his benefactor. This was M. Decazes, to whom the jealousy of the ultra-royalists, and the hostility of the courtiers, only permitted this stolen farewell of a King who had loved him so much, and whom he had himself loved as a father.

After these ceremonies and adieus, the dying monarch, surrounded only by his brother, his nephew, the Duchess d'Angoulême, and some attendants, continued in a lethargic state, broken by intervals of consciousness, without pain, delirium, or affliction. At daybreak on the 16th September, the day he had himself suggested to his medical attendants as likely to terminate his physical powers, his first physician drawing aside the bed-curtain, felt his pulse to ascertain if it still beat; the arm was still warm, but the pulse was no longer perceptible. The King was in his final sleep.

M. Portal raised the bed-clothes, and turning round, said: "Gentlemen, the King is dead;" then bowing to the Count d'Artois, he concluded, "Long live the King!"

The funeral ceremonies then commenced, and the Count d'Artois before he began his reign, retired for awhile to the Palace of St. Cloud.

XVII.

The King's eyes were scarcely closed when his brother, now King himself, the royal family, and the party which had availed itself of the services of Madame du Cayla, for the edification of the kingdom and the honour of religion, hastened to break the instrument of their long intrigue, and to obliterate as much as they could, all traces of this lady's intervention in the cabinet and her ascendancy over the heart and conscience of the King. M. de Villèle alone recollected the decencies of old friendship and the happy influence she had exercised over public affairs. Being apprised of the search about to be made in the coffers and portfolios of Louis XVIII., to remove everything that might bear upon the long intimacy between the King and Madame du Cayla, he instantly despatched a messenger to the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, to acquaint him with the death of the King, and to beg him to hasten to the palace in order to claim, in his friend's name, the correspond-

Provision made for Madame du Cayla.

ence, the private papers, or other documents which might concern or belong to her. But the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld was less prompt than those who were commissioned to destroy the proofs of this intercourse and friendship, which survived, it is said, the death of the King. There were said to have been not only numerous letters, familiar and political, interesting to the history of the human heart, as well as to the history of the past reign, but also documents written by the hand of the prince, to secure, after his death, a splendid provision for her whom he had loved and honoured to his last moments. He himself had repeatedly and formally announced this to Madame du Cayla, who had refused to accept from him presents of great value. "Well, it matters not," said the old monarch, taking back the jewels which had been offered and refused: "you will find, after my death, solid remembrances, and pledges of my attachment, which it will no longer be possible for you to refuse to my memory." But papers and letters had all disappeared from the King's cabinet, before the friends of Madame du Cayla could even become acquainted with the mystery so essentially connected with her interests. Charles X. and the family council thought it necessary, for the dignity of the crown, and out of respect to the piety and memory of their brother and uncle, not to divulge such letters, documents, or codicils, as might prolong beyond the tomb the insinuations and malignity with which the enemies of their house had, during the lifetime of Louis XVIII., calumniated or misrepresented this friendship. Perhaps they were also desirous of destroying at the same time all written evidence of the influence which the two hidden parties of the court and the church had exercised, through the intervention of a woman, on the policy of the last years, to make the public believe that the concessions obtained with such difficulty from the King had been the result of his own convictions, and not of importunity on the heart of an old man.

However this may be, Charles X., a prince as upright as he was pious, altered while he destroyed the testamentary dispositions of his brother, into a pension of twenty-five thousand francs per annum, which he settled on Madame du Cayla for

Funeral of Louis XVIII.

life. She removed from court, and retired into a happy obscurity, which long attested the friendship of the King, the value of services rendered to an important negociation, and the gratitude of a successor whom she had enabled to reign beforehand by obtaining the power for his minister. All became cold to her after the royal demise, except the gratitude of M. de Villèle and M. de la Rochefoucauld.

Such was the end of this triple negociation, wavering between the trickery of the stage and the gravity of history ; a comedy of the heart, of policy, ambition, and religion, of an old man and a woman, which might equally claim the pencil of a Molière or a Tacitus ; the reverse side of human affairs, which displays the real value, the false seeming, and sometimes the contemptible machinery employed in the production of great events.

XVIII

The body of Louis XVIII., being embalmed, was covered with the winding-sheet by M. de Talleyrand and the Duke d'Aumont. The funeral was splendid, but saddened by the absence of the high church dignitaries, which surprised the public, and occasioned a rumour amongst the multitude, that it was a piece of sacerdotal vengeance on the pretended impiety of the prince. It was, however, nothing but a contest of pride between M. de Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, and the Cardinal Prince de Croï, grand chaplain of the crown, who disputed for pre-eminence ; and neither being willing to yield, they preferred abandoning the body of the King, to whom they owed everything, to giving up the least of their prerogatives. The people in multitudes, deeply affected, followed the funeral car as far as St. Denis, where the founder of the charter took possession of the tomb of his ancestors. His memory was eulogized by M. de Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis ; but his best reward lay in the esteem and regret of the nation, which he merited.

XIX

Posterity, when it approaches too closely the memory of a deceased monarch, is influenced in its judgment of that me-

Review of his life and reign.

memory by the prejudices, the partialities, and the party-feeling which prevailed during his life; and by these posthumous feelings the reign of Louis XVIII. has been hitherto judged. Almost all men were equally interested in misrepresenting, depreciating, and lessening the merit of his life and person. The partisans of the Empire had to avenge themselves upon him for the fall of their idol; and to eclipse disdainfully under the military glory of Napoleon, and the splendour of his reign, the civil and modest merits of policy, of peace, and of freedom. It was necessary to debase the King in order to elevate the hero; to sacrifice a memory to exalt a fanaticism; and they have accordingly continued to pour forth sarcasm instead of history. The liberals who had made a hollow alliance with the Bonapartists, although in reality they had a sincere esteem for this prince, sacrificed in their turn the expression of estimation to a base compliance with party-spirit. The ultra-republicans had to reproach him with the name of Bourbon, with the title of brother to Louis XVI., and with the crime of being a king; without reflecting that a man should be judged according to his nature, and that royalty is as much the duty of a king as it is his principle and his glory. The ambitious party of the clergy who had hoped to reign through him, could not pardon him for wishing to restrain it within the limits of religious liberty, for having opposed to it the liberty of the press and the tribune, and for not having restored it to its former power; and this party has excommunicated his memory, as that of a philosophical prince infected upon the throne with the air, the spirit, and the impiety of his childhood. Finally, even his own party, the monarchical and aristocratical party, in intoxicated with the delirium which always seizes upon triumphant factions, turned against its moderator. It ascribed to weakness his temperate enjoyment of the regal power; and it imputed to him as a crime that charter which, in reality, was a treaty of Utrecht between the revolution and the monarchies. Thence arose all the wickedness, all the rancour, and all the contempt which have been mingled together, to disfigure the memory of a king thrust forward as a prey to all the selfish disdain and resentment of his epoch. But the day of truth for him has at length

His great mental endowments.

arrived; it is time he should be judged by his works and not by the sarcasms of his enemies.

XX.

No king ever bore with more dignity and constancy dethronement and exile, tests which are almost always fatal to men who are elevated only by their situation: no king ever waited with more patience, or more certainty, the restoration of his race: no king ever re-ascended the throne under circumstances of greater difficulty, confirmed himself upon it against greater obstacles, or left it to his family with a fairer prospect of maintaining it long after his death. These adversities nobly supported, this patience coolly reasoned, these difficulties resolutely encountered, these obstacles skilfully overcome, this prospect of a long reign laboriously re-conquered for his successors, were not with Louis XVIII. the work of fortune, but of intellect, of policy, of character; of maturity of mind, of foresight, of wisdom, of his good qualities as well as his defects; of that serene contemplation of human affairs which men derive from long solitude and continuous misfortune, as well as from those bodily infirmities that confine them to the resources of their own minds; and even from that old age which cools those passions so fatal to the legislator, and which by depriving him of all selfish connection with the time that is flying from his grasp, directs his thoughts with more impartial foresight and contemplation towards the future which he wishes to secure for his name, his family, and his people.

XXI

As a young man, the Count de Provence had been, at his brother's court, the work of his own hands. He had created for himself, amidst the dissipation and the follies of the palace, a mind learned, cultivated, reflective, literary, and already statesmanlike, which had led to his being taxed with ambition, self-consequence, and pedantry, by a court where, since the time of Louis XY., a prince was permitted to be everything but a man. From the first symptoms of the revolution he had understood its object, and adopted with propriety

His patient dignity in retirement.

and moderation its principles, so far as they were compatible with his rank and his fidelity to his brother. None of the errors of this brother, or of his queen, had escaped his attention; but none of the catastrophes which had sprung from those faults had deprived him of his fidelity to the throne. His attachment to the King had even appeared to be redoubled by the misfortunes and the degradation of his reign. He had not exigrated like the Count d'Artois, who, without intending it, had dangerously compromised his family, left as a pledge in the hands of the revolution, vainly agitated the frontiers, and sought from court to court for enemies to his country. He had only quitted France, by order of Louis XVI., on the very night that this Prince had stolen away from his palace and from Lafayette, and fled to Varennes. Being badly received by the Prince de Condé, and by the armed assemblage of the nobility at Coblenz, as a prince tainted with the popular spirit, he had retired with a few friends first to Russia, then to Verona, and then to Hartwell, whither the scaffolds and the dungeons of his family had transmitted to him, before the order of nature, the title of King, which he had borne with a modest majesty equally independent of the scorn of Europe, the misfortunes of his family, and the greatness of his nation. He had not sold it on any terms, either to Bonaparte, who wished to purchase it, or to the cabinets of Vienna and Russia, which wanted to make him abdicate it. No deposed prince had ever better maintained in his own person, during his proscription, the rank of his ancestors, the honour of his country, and of the crown—fallen from his head, but kept as a sacred deposit in his respect. By dint of believing in his right, in spite of adverse fortune, he at length made Europe believe in it; and by respecting himself, he made the universe respect him. He had been for a while, after the peace of Amiens, alone of all his party against the whole world

XXII.

He had soothed and turned to good account the long leisure which exile had given him by studies, sometimes light and sometimes solid, which had at first amused and afterwards

His philosophical and literary studies.

ripened his mind in his youth. He thought like Montesquieu, he conversed like Talleyrand; he wrote with that ingenuity and delicate grace of style which, though it does not indicate the great writer, displays in familiar literature the easy elegance of the courtier, united with the classical purity of the man of letters. He adored antiquity in its historians, its poets, and its philosophers. Horace was the manual of his light philosophy, Tacitus of his serious policy. This feeling for antiquity, which gives grandeur and gravity to the thoughts, had very much conduced to the stoicism and the continuous majesty of attitude which he had maintained in his struggle of a quarter of a century with fortune. He had lived in social intercourse with great thoughts and great men. In modern poetry, literature, and philosophy, he preferred, above all others, Voltaire, that genius of lucidity, grace, and common sense; but he disliked the sophistry and declamation of J. J. Rousseau, and the writers of his school. He was not dazzled by the splendour of M. de Chateaubriand, under which he said he could see nothing but "surface without foundation, colours without design, and dazzling without real light." He sometimes laughed at M. de Bonald and his cloudy philosophy, in which he could find nothing, he said, "but enigmas to be solved by the enigma of humanity." He inclined rather to those middling, but plain writers, who have no obscurity because they have no depth, and who play with words and thoughts as they would with cockle-shells. His correspondence, and the small number of verses or writings that he has left, are mere trifles; his serious thoughts he kept for his council, for his conversations, for the manifestoes which he addressed to Europe, and for the speeches which he drew up with his own hand for his parliament. These fragments are master-pieces of dignity, of diplomacy, of propriety, and of elocution. None of his ministers could have made him speak so well as he spoke by himself. He had the full compass of all things, of all circumstances, and of all times: he understood the spirit of the age, and he knew how to make himself understood by it. In private conversation, whether gay or grave, no man of his time could equal him. He was, without any question, one of the most

The great difficulties of his reign

intellectual men of his kingdom. By dint of mind he even struck out for himself a distinctive character; and the only reproach that can be made against him is, that this character, partly assumed and partly ostentatious, was in him rather the majesty of an acted part than the real greatness of nature. But at least he never belied his part; if in him it was sometimes the comedy of the throne, it must be admitted that it was never better enacted.

XXIII.

On the fall of Bonaparte fortune found him again at the summit of the high rank to which that event had recalled him. Any one else, perhaps, would have trembled at the pinnacle on which he stood, or sunk under the difficulties of the task imposed upon him by France, by Europe, and by his own name. He arrived, at an advanced age, infirm and softened by long repose, in a country which had forgotten him, and which he himself no longer recognised. He there replaced the conqueror of the world, the hero of glory, the idol of the soldier, the vanity of the people. He was received by the humbled nation as the viceroy of the coalition, and the hostage imposed upon it by Europe; by the startled revolution as the exasperated avenger of his family; by the army as the accomplice and ally of those it had been fighting against for five-and-twenty years; by the nobility as the compelled champion of its privileges and its domination; by the priesthood as the restorer of its temporal power; by the people as its antagonist, as the destroyer of equality, and the natural enemy of freedom; and finally, by Europe as the puppet of its caprices, the plaything of its diplomacy, and the instrument of its exactions, and the spoliation of his country. He had to study at a single glance this unknown country, to substitute reason for glory, to honour the soldier while making him forget his chief, to change the idolatry of the people for heroism into an impassioned but reflective love of liberty, to raise up the national pride, crushed and exasperated under its defeats, to make France believe that it was to her and not to foreign power that her king owed his restoration, to deaden with caresses the dis-

Are all ably conquered by him.

contents of the troops ; to reassure the revolution on its inalienable conquest of equality, to appease the nobility by flattering it, to restrain the Church while giving it respect instead of empire, to seize upon the people by granting to it a large portion of right and influence in its own government, and by making a rampart of the constitutional throne against the reaction of the aristocratical classes. He had, finally, to demand of Europe a high price for himself, and, in his turn, to show himself a king in reality, to those powers who thought they were only imposing upon France a phantom and a play-thing. Louis XVIII. conceived, dared, and accomplished all these things in appearance so impossible. This old man, armed with the charter, threw himself, bravely and alone, between Europe, the army, France, the revolution, and the counter-revolution. He cleared, or rounded all these rocks, and died monarch of a delivered and a pacified kingdom.

XXIV

His reign is now before us : it was not devoid of faults, of errors, and, above all, of weaknesses ; but the majority of these faults and weaknesses of the King arose from his situation and not from his will. It is a great injustice to judge of things relative, by fixed and absolute principles. No man should be estimated except in the position made for him by the times, the events, and the circumstances in the midst of which he is placed, by a concurrence of affairs over which he has no control. Louis XVIII. in the antecedents of his reign, in his name of Bourbon, in the misfortune of his succeeding Napoleon, who had at once so much magnified and lessened France, in the invasion which made a breach for him to return to his country, in the foreign occupation which had trampled the soil of France under his throne, in his natural party, and especially in a part of his family, was led into and almost compelled to commit errors, which it would be unjust to impute to himself alone.

XXV.

His natural party, that is, his brother and his family, were involuntarily his fatality. They had neither his understanding,

His numerous personal obstacles.

nor his impartiality, nor his foresight. They never ceased harassing him with their exactions in his own palace, conspiring against his wisdom, caballing against his ministers, leaguering themselves with the ambitious members of the church, and the rash members of the aristocracy, to counteract his designs, and to revive throughout the country, between the different classes, opinions and interests, those divisions which he wished to abolish. Had Louis XVIII. been young, sound, and of heroic stamp, he might have set this brother aside, subjugated this family, quelled all internal resistance to his will, and reigned alone, without being accountable to his own palace, until the moment when the representative system, solidly accepted and rooted in the soil, would have allowed him to say to his brother and his nephews: "Take my institutions, such as I have founded them, or repudiate my inheritance."

But this royal legislator was near seventy; he was reminded of death by his infirmities; he might at any moment descend into the tomb before he had deadened in such an enterprise the royalist passions, which so encouraging an event would have roused into a civil war; Europe, still present in arms, would have sided with his family, banished anew out of the kingdom by the hand of a brother, of an uncle, of a grandfather, and carrying their anger and their complaints from court to court; this brother, these nephews, these nieces, these wards, were all of his own blood, the fibres of his own heart, the companions and the consolation of his long adversity; an excess of severity to them would resemble ingratitude, excite the blood in his own veins, and indignation in the feeling of France and of Europe. He would be looked upon as the proscriber of those he should protect. His hereditary and dynastic principle would rise as well as nature against his policy. Being unable, therefore, to strike, it was necessary to qualify, to resist, and to convince.

This is what he did with his family, so long as the decay of his physical powers did not deprive him of all energy, and of all freedom of action upon his brother, upon his Chambers, and upon his own party. He interposed, with rare firmness of heart and mind, between the errors of the court and the inter-

Compel him to temporise.

ests of his people. He boldly held forth his charter as a challenge to the one side and a pledge to the other; and he allowed himself to be accused of defection by some members of his family, and even by his brother, that he might secure to them a throne. So long as he could command without proscribing them, he commanded; but when they had fomented even to insanity the monarchical and sacerdotal reaction in the Chambers, when increasing illness and approaching death did not permit him to recur without danger to a second *coup d'état*, like that of the 5th September, against his own partisans, he felt that he should yield a little to retain a great deal, and he therefore chose, in M. de Villèle, the wisest and most moderate of the royalists, to temper the retrograde movement and to save at least the charter. He thus gained time against the follies of his court and of the Chamber, and time might bring him a more liberal majority which would have restored the equilibrium of his institutions.

He died in that painful crisis of the legislator, who allows his bark to drive before an irresistible gale, in the hope of regaining after the tempest the shore from which he has been driven. Should history then make him accountable for his death? If heaven had granted him a longer life, two years later the elections would have given him a liberal and monarchical majority, and he would have died with the charter in full operation, instead of in the midst of a reaction. Who can doubt that, had he lived ten years longer, a long liberal monarchy would have continued his name in France? He gave one reign to the Restoration, but he would have given it a series of reigns. If the Restoration, which is the most difficult of governments, had only this one reign, it was the fault of his age, but not of his policy. He possessed the temperate, flexible, and negotiating genius of Restorations. He was the diplomatist of kings and peoples, and he made them sign the alliance of ages. Woe to him who tore it upon his tomb.

XXVI.

As a man he had neither the great vices nor the great virtues of powerful natures; but he committed none of the crimes of great passions. He has been accused of selfishness, whereas

His natural tendency to friendship and affection.

his whole life has been nothing but a proof of his craving for friendship. A friend was associated from his infancy with all the phases of his life, of his misfortunes, or of his government; from M. d'Avary to M. Decazes, and to that feminine consolation of his last years, into whose hands he resigned his heart, his policy, and his final affection. In studying his actions in foreign countries and in France it is impossible to overlook the immense portion he devoted to the affection and the interest of his family, in his private as well as in his public life. It was his house that reigned in him more than himself. If he had reigned for himself alone, perhaps that family, for which he sacrificed too much, would still reign; for if ever it re-ascended the throne his spirit alone could nationalize his descendants.

XXVII.

As a sovereign he bore a strong resemblance to Henri IV., whom he took a pleasure in citing amongst the ancestors of his crown. Nature, as well as the age and circumstances in which he lived, denied him the glory of arms; but if he had neither the heroism, the fame, nor the poetry of Henry IV., neither had he the inconstancy of heart, the apostacy of faith, nor the party ingratitude of his ancestor. To conquer the rebellious minds, and to reconcile the divided opinions of a people, after the French revolution, after the conquests of the Empire, and the reverses of the invasion, was perhaps as difficult for Louis XVIII., as to conquer and subdue the soil, after the league, was for the King of Navarre. To conquer with one party and to reign for another was the destiny of both. But Louis XVIII. did not deceive, or subjugate his, as Henri IV. did, to the opposite faction. He merely applied himself to moderate, in order to nationalize it with himself. One of these princes was the soldier, the other the legislator of his kingdom; warriors are conquerors of territories, legislators are conquerors of ages; Henri IV. only founded a dynasty, Louis XVIII. founded liberties. This is his title, and France will maintain him in it; and if she does not place him in the rank of her greatest men, she will, at least, place him in the rank of the ablest and wisest of her kings.

BOOK FORTY-FIFTH.

Charles X.—His portrait; his passion for hunting; his piety—The secret court: The Cardinal de Latil, Lambruschini, De Quelen, De Montmorency, De Rivière, De Vanblanc, and Capelle—M. de Vitrolles—Situation of France—M. de Villèle is continued at the head of the government—The Duke d'Orleans receives the title of Royal Highness and an appanage from the King—Abolition of the censorship—Opening of the Chambers—Speech of Charles X.—Generals of the Republic and of the Empire removed from active service—Endowment of the crown—The indemnity of a thousand millions—The law on religious communities—The law of sacrilege—Speeches of M. de Bonald and of M. Royer Collard—Coronation of Charles X.—The amnesty—Death of General Foy—His portrait; his funeral; subscription of a million francs for his children.

I

THE new king, who on ascending the throne took the name of Charles X., had preserved amidst the early snows of approaching age the freshness, the erectness, the suppleness, and the beauty of his youth. Thought, which matures the forms as well as the minds of men, had been but little cultivated by the Count d'Artois. As a man of impulse, all his qualities were gifts of nature, and scarcely any the acquired fruit of labour and meditation; he was imbued with the spirit of the Gallic race, superficial, quick, spontaneous and happy in random repartees, the friendly and communicative smile, the open look, the extended hand, the cordial attitude; with a lively wish to please, an ardent thirst of popularity, very safe in confidential intercourse, with a constancy—rare upon the throne—in friendship, a real modesty, a restless seeking after good advice, a conscience severe upon himself and indulgent towards others, piety without bigotry, a noble repentance for the only failings of his life—his youthful amours, a serious respect for the character of king, to which Providence had called him by

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Amusements of Charles X.

his birth, a rational and thoughtful love for his people, and an honest and religious intention to accomplish the happiness of France, and to devote his reign to the moral improvement and the national grandeur of the country which Providence had confided to him ; all these royal dispositions of his soul were impressed upon his lineaments : nobleness, frankness, majesty, goodness, probity, candour ; the whole indicating a man born to love and to be loved. Depth and solidity alone were wanting in his countenance ; in looking at him we felt attracted towards the man, but distrustful of the monarch.

II

His life was that of a gentleman of the first races of the monarchy, in those ages when force and address, displayed in bodily exercises, indicated the superiority of courage and the majesty of rank ; when gallantry, the church, and the chase, constituted the principal employments of princes. Virtue having retrenched the first of these from the life of Charles X., his time was principally divided between piety and hunting, and for this latter he preserved all the ardour of his early years. A love of horses, a taste for forest life, the cry of the hounds, the delight of hunting the deer and the roebuck, the excitement of the wild Tally-ho ! and the concluding flourish of the French-horns, called forth his enthusiasm, as the manœuvre, the combat, and the victory call forth that of the hero. His hunting train and his stables were more than an amusement,—they were a royal occupation for him. His long residence in England, a country in which horses, dogs, the forest, and the race-course, are the blazonry of an opulent aristocracy and the national pride of the people, had maintained and increased in him this hereditary passion of the Bourbons. He caused reports of his hunting excursions to be drawn up by the historians of his hounds and horses ; and grave volumes, published during and after his reign, still retrace, with scrupulous fidelity and picturesque talent, the narratives of these futile exploits. His leisure thus passed in conformity with the habits of his youth and with due consider-

His piety and religious opinions.

ation for his health, did not, however, interfere with the duties which his conscience imposed upon him as a king. His piety even took precedence of his pleasures.

III

This piety, whose origin we have seen at the commencement of this history in the passion of the Count d'Artois for Madame de Polastron, and in the oath he took by the side of her death-bed to devote solely to God the love he had borne to her, had in it neither excess, nor puerility, nor ostentation : outwardly he confined it to the practice of the religious exercises required by the habits and the etiquette of courts ; but his internal piety was in him a feeling and a conviction : he did not exaggerate it, as his enemies have accused him of doing, by monkish practices, by secret brotherhood with the order of Jesuits, by a harsh intolerance, by a blind obsequiousness to the court of Rome, or by a servile complaisance to the clergy of his own court,—he continued to be a king not the less for being a Christian. He had sufficiently imbibed in his youth, before the revolution, the light philosophy, or the reasoning incredulity of his age, to understand that if religion could still exercise a voluntary ascendancy in France, it could no longer with impunity tend to tyranny. Simply, however, being himself convinced, by misfortune more than by reasoning, that the religion of his forefathers was the absolute truth of the spirit, and the only salvation of souls, he thought he owed it to God and to his people to propagate a belief in it, and to favour its supremacy by every means compatible with the spirit of his age, and with the necessary toleration of other creeds. As a faithful Christian, though not a sectarian, if he thought it necessary to set an example of religion, he did not, therefore, feel himself compelled to surrender his political government to his clergy. He preserved upon the throne, like the most Catholic of his ancestors, St. Louis and Louis XIV., a certain royal and traditional independence of the court of Rome ; he distrusted the ambition and the spirit of fraternity and domination of the priesthood, which he looked upon as calculated

His opposition to clerical exactions.

to depress the crown and to alienate the people from religion,—he adored their God without loving their sect,—he saw with great penetration through their secret designs,—and he resisted, with external deference but with firm resolution, whatever appeared bold or excessive in their requirements. Such were, with respect to the clergy, the real dispositions of Charles X. The author of this history has heard him declare his sentiments in these express terms, in an effusion without witnesses, in which this prince, though he might be deceiving himself, did not, at least, attempt to deceive any one else.

He was neither a fanatic, a slave, nor a persecutor, but he was a believer. His zeal, unknown to himself, influenced his policy; and he thought he owed a portion of his reign to his religion. The people were misled by this; it was supposed that he wished to restore France to the church; and the first of the liberties conquered by the revolution, the freedom of the human mind, felt itself threatened. Hence arose the disquietude, the disaffection, the brevity, and the catastrophe of this reign. If Charles X. had been suspected of scepticism, like his brother; or if in him the faithful Christian had been distinct from the monarch; or if, in short, the rational liberty of conscience to which the human mind will aspire from revolution to revolution, until it be conceded, had existed through the definitive separation of the church and state, and their mutual independence, Charles X. would have reigned till his death, and his descendants would have reigned after him; but he was destined to fall a victim to his faith. This was not the fault of his conscience, but of his reason. In him the Christian was destined to ruin the king.

IV

The defects of Charles X. were not in his character but in his understanding. Although this understanding was natural, pliant, lively, and even sometimes sparkling, by the promptness and felicity of his expressions, it wanted cultivation; but above all it wanted the gift which with kings supplies the place of all others, the knowledge of men. From his youth upwards

The King's private associates.

he had been badly associated: in his earliest years he had only seen the world through the frivolous medium of his mistresses, and of the young companions of his pleasures; and at a later period, during the emigration, through the narrow and peevish minds of some priests and some great lords, implacable against the revolution by which they were proscribed. Since the return of his royal house to France, he had been continually surrounded by a little court of familiar adherents, without intelligence, and some even without conscience; gentlemen, chaplains, bishops, courtiers grown old in exile, embittered by misfortune, intoxicated with favour, and eager to reign under their master, together with some obscure flatterers transplanting into the palace the taste for and habit of intrigue by which they had been elevated to it. The most honest among these led him astray in good faith, and the most intelligent through interest. Those amongst them who had any conscience had no political cleverness, and they who were politically clever were by no means conscientious. This little court was a focus of ignorance, of superstition, of prejudice, and of covetousness, stirred up by one or two ordinary agitators. The prince was superior to his counsellors, and however accustomed he was to this retinue, he was not long in discovering that on the death of his brother he could not present such men to France as the ministers of his government. In some of them priestly intolerance, in others aristocratical pride; incapacity in one set, intrigue in another; in all, regret for the old regime, resentment for the emigration, and want of intelligence with new France, the spirit of the court instead of the national spirit, contempt for the charter, disdain for the citizens, hostility to popular institutions, and the invocation to foreigners which had dictated the *note secrète* to the allied powers by the hand of M. de Vitrolles, constituted the men of this court into a camp of Coblenz in the Tuileries. Chivalrous virtues, unconquerable friendship in exile, and sincere devotion, insured respect there to the personal attachment of the prince for MM. de Montmorency, De Rivière, De Fitz-james, De Bruges, De Damas, De Blacas, De Vaudreuil, De Larochefoucauld-Doudeauville, De Polignac, and other great monarchical names,

The secret court of Charles X.

the companions of his evil days, and the natural favourites of his superior household.

But the familiarity which had sprung out of the emigration, the interested zeal of the first-comers around the prince, when lieutenant-general of the kingdom in 1814, the undue religious influence exercised over the conscience of the heir to the throne, the focus of aristocratical and episcopal opposition around the prince during the reign of his brother, the impatience of reigning beforehand under his name, and finally the cabal whose contact he had submitted to during the unwearied conspiracies which spring up on every side around proscribed dynasties, had grouped about him a second court, secret and subordinate, half sacred and half political, which covered his name with suspicion. The archbishop of Rheims, Cardinal de Latil, a prelate of the court who had been his clerical director during the emigration, and who had returned with him, powerful and influential, to the Tuileries; the Pope's nuncio, Lambruschini, a Roman negotiator who was consulted in the management of France; M. de Quelen, archbishop of Paris, a man of good faith, and conscientious, but of a character at once insinuating and imperious; all the avowed or hidden chiefs of the ambitious party in the church, and of the counter-revolutionary party in the saloons and the Chambers, composed this second court of Charles X. To these were added some political men of the second rank, more or less capable of enlightening it on public opinions and public affairs, such as M. de Vaublanc, the superannuated oracle of his private council; and M. Capelle, an old *prefet* of Napoleon's, an able and trustworthy functionary, but accustomed to that absolute power which cuts instead of untying the difficult knots of public crises.

M. de Vitrolles who, as we have seen, had attached himself to this prince in 1814, and who had acquired by his assiduity, his courage, and his services, so decided an ascendancy over his councils, was the active spring and hidden movement of all this private machinery of the new king. Of a supple and fawning spirit, more calculated to mould itself according to the wishes and inveterate prejudices of the sovereign than to impress upon him a disposition and a consistency of ideas, in

He begins to understand the difficulties of government.

conformity with his people and the age in which he lived, M. de Vitrolles was rather a party-man than a statesman. Skilful in weaving the threads of a plot, in communicating between factions, and in enrolling useful men, but incapable of finding a way, and of directing an open policy, through the problems of a revolution and a restoration; a mixture of finesse, of gracefulness, and boldness, these very qualities which make one agreeable in a court, made him dangerous in the council. Sprung from obscurity through secret negotiations and through favour, he derived no responsibility either from the past or the future; while encouraging his prince to dare much he risked but little himself. He belonged to that class of counsellors rash, devoted, and intrepid, but sometimes fatal, who urge their parties to hazardous extremities, conscious that the regular progress of affairs and the distrust of public opinion would always leave them in the background. M. de Vitrolles was generally thought to be more of a favourite, and to have more influence over the mind of the prince than he really had. His activity and his anxious intervention between all parties, exaggerated abroad the opinion of his ascendancy; but this opinion alone was a misfortune for the new king. People believing that he gave himself up to the counsels of the author of the *note secrete*, distrusted at once the two influences which inspired the greatest terror into the mass of the country: Europe and the counter-revolution; and it was apprehended that he would form a ministry from the honourable incapacities or the dangerous abilities of his secret council.

But the throne inspires ere yet it has made its occupant giddy. The new king, secluded at St. Cloud in the midst of his official grief, and inaccessible to all the manœuvres of intrigue, was under the influence of wise thoughts. The two last years had very much ripened his judgment; for since he had actually begun to reign through the indulgence of his brother, and under the name of M. de Villèle, he had begun to comprehend the difficulties of government. He could perceive his situation at a glance; it was reassuring, open, and free upon all sides.

Abroad, the horizon had been cleared by the expedition to

Favourable circumstances of his accession.

Spain. All the revolutionary mines being discovered or stifled in Europe, left its thrones consolidated in complete security. Within, the wisdom of Louis XVIII. had reconciled in his charter the principle of the legitimacy of crowns with that of the intervention of peoples and the government of opinion. The exercise of electoral liberty, of the freedom of speech, and of the freedom of the press, satisfied the demand for a guarantee and the wants of activity of the country. The army, so long humbled and dissatisfied, after wavering for some years between the fanaticism of the Empire and the caresses of the factions, had given itself definitively to the Bourbons on the first field of battle the latter had opened to it. The radical conspiracies, the secret societies, the barrack seductions, and the hidden explosions of carbonarism had ceased to undermine the soil; and since these had felt their hopes all frustrated, an immense majority supported the monarchy in the two Chambers. A ministry directed by a man at once skilful and popular with the rational part of the population, satisfied this majority without yielding too much to its temerity or its passions. Hope, the anticipated popularity of new reigns, suspended the oppositions in expectation, and gave the King for a moment the unanimity of the country. Louis XVIII. seemed to have carried with him to the tomb the evil fortune of his house. He had sustained all the storms, and he left to his brother all the serenity of the monarchy.

V.

Even the disquietude which liberal opinion had so long nourished and propagated as to the future government of the Count d'Artois, afforded Charles X. a happy opportunity of dispelling it. People were disposed to be grateful for all the faults which he might refuse to commit. To falsify the sinister prophecies which had been promulgated as to his first acts on ascending the throne, was to secure to himself the benedictions of his people.

M. de Villèle and his colleagues, who had brought their portfolios to the King at St. Cloud, on the night following the

His munificence to the Duke d'Orleans.

death of Louis XVIII., received them again from the hands of Charles X. This was declaring to the country that the change of monarch had changed nothing in the government. The moderation and the constitutional spirit of M. de Villèle were a guarantee in the eyes of conservative opinion ; for when a prince meditates excesses his first act is to get rid of all moderators. The name of M. de Villèle preserved at the head of the government, was a tacit proclamation of good sense. He was sufficient for the royalists, he did not alarm the liberals ; he only gave umbrage to the ambitious, the senseless, or the intriguers of the court. The first words of Charles X. to the great bodies of the state, which sent deputations to felicitate him at St. Cloud, expanded the heart of France, being equally imbued with fraternal piety as with policy. " I wish," he said, " to continue the reign of my brother ! I have promised to maintain the charter and the institutions that we owe to the king whom heaven has taken from us ; and now that my birthright has placed the power in my hands, I shall make use of it entirely to consolidate, for the happiness of my people, the great act I have sworn to maintain !"

He commenced his reign with a profusion of favours and titles to his family and his court ; and he hastened to obliterate every trace of past resentment between the branches of the royal house, by granting to the Duke d'Orleans the title of Royal Highness, which brought him nearer to the honours of the crown, and which Louis XVIII. had constantly refused to the solicitations of that prince. " He is already near enough to the throne," said the King ; " I shall take very good care not to bring him any closer." Charles X. added to this favour to the Duke d'Orleans a gift, under the feudal title of appanage, of the immense domains of his house, legally suppressed by the laws of 1791, which made this prince the most opulent proprietor of the kingdom ; and by an excess of solicitude for the future security of the Duke d'Orleans, the King desired that this gift should be irrevocably legalised by the Chambers, in the same law which was to fix his own royal endowment. Judging of the hearts of others by his own, he thought to chase ambition from them by the excess of his benefits, and

His great popularity on entering Paris.

wished for no other prudence than the imprudence of magnanimity.

He received with chivalrous cordiality the marshals and generals of the Empire, who had not until then been forgiven for Waterloo, or for bearing arms against the Bourbons. Marshal Grouchy, whose prisoner the Duke d'Angoulême had been in the south in 1815, returned to favour; and the King said to General Excelmans: "General, I do not remember the past, but I am certain that I can reckon upon you for the future." Such words, and such preludes of this reign, echoing throughout all France, inspired all hearts with the happiest presentiments.

Under these auspices he made his entry into Paris on the 27th September, 1824, enthusiastically received by the entire population. Some of his courtiers wished him to take precautions against the ball or the poniard of an assassin during the ceremony which would expose him so many hours to the crowd. "Why should I?" he replied; "they cannot hate me without knowing me, and I am sure that when they do know me they will not hate me!" Escorted by an army, and received with the acclamations of a nation intoxicated with hope, he traversed upon a silver-coloured Arab, which he rode with the grace of a young man, the whole space between St. Cloud and the Cathedral of Paris. The archbishop, who, at the head of his clergy, awaited him at the entrance, addressed him in an ambiguous and unbecoming speech, through which appeared a priestly provocation to a degree of power responsible only to God alone. The King appeared to listen to it with disfavour; and in his reply he evinced nothing but the pious humility of a prince who feels the burthen more than the pride of his rank, and who comes to implore not the vanities but the assistance of heaven. He entered the Tuileries in the same solemn state; and when asked if he was fatigued with the procession and the ceremony, which had lasted a whole day: "No," he replied, "joy never fatigues." He had met with nothing but kind looks, tears of pleasure, and acclamations on his route.

He introduced the Duke d'Angoulême into the government, by giving him the supreme direction of the army, whose esteem

The opening speech of the session.

this prince had justly acquired. Eager for that popularity of which he had just tasted the first fruits, he himself proposed to the council of ministers to abolish the censorship of the public journals, which was an odious restriction that had been impatiently submitted to during the last few months of the late reign. The press responded to this generous act by an effusion of gratitude which raised the enthusiasm of Paris to a pitch of delirium. "A new reign opens upon us," exclaimed the journalists who had been most bitter against the Bourbons; "the King is desirous of doing good; his wisdom scatters at the first word the cloud under which bad governments conceal their evil thoughts: there is no snare to apprehend from one who himself invokes the light." The National Guard, comprising the select population of Paris, and which then represented its strength and its opinions, was reviewed the following day by the King in the Champ de-Mars, and received him as the restorer of liberty. "No halberts between me and my people!" exclaimed the prince, intoxicated with these acclamations, to the officers of his guard, who wished to protect him against the eager pressure of the multitude. This review was one continued embrace between the King and the people.

VI.

Meanwhile the session of the Chambers was about to open, and the government, more difficult than the reign, called for all his cares. The King appeared before the united Chambers on the 22nd December, 1824. "The first wish of my heart," said he, "is to speak to you of my affliction and of your own. We have lost a good and a wise king, the glory of whose reign will never be effaced. He not only raised up the throne of my ancestors, but he consolidated it by institutions which, by drawing together and reuniting the past and the present, have restored to France repose and happiness. The King, my brother, found a great consolation in preparing the means of closing up the wounds of the revolution; and the moment is now arrived for executing the wise designs that he conceived. The situation of our finances will permit us to accomplish this

Impolitic measure against imperial generals.

great act of justice and of policy without any increase of taxation, or any injury to public credit. I wish the ceremony of my coronation to terminate the first session of my reign, and you will be present, gentlemen, at this august proceeding. There, prostrate at the foot of the same altar where Clovis received the sacred unction, and in presence of him who judges kings and peoples, I shall renew the oath to maintain and cause to be observed the institutions granted by the king, my brother; I shall offer up my thanks to Divine Providence for having deigned to make use of me to repair the calamities of my people, and I shall implore the continuation of its protection to this noble country which I am so proud to govern." This speech was received with unanimous applause. The royalists applauded it for the promise of repairing the ruins of their fortunes; and the liberals, for the promise of fidelity to the guardian institutions of liberty. Charles X. returned to the Tuileries king of the two camps which divided France, the hope of the one, and the guarantee of the other. His reign seduced everybody, and above all, himself.

VII.

The first murmur was provoked by a jealous and impolitic measure of the minister, in removing from active service in the army a great number of generals of the Republic and of the Empire, whose feelings and interests had attached them to the Bourbons, but who were thus thrown into a state of disaffection. The King, when informed too late of the severity of this measure, corrected it by exceptions almost as numerous as the removals, and by expressions which promptly effaced their impression. On the 3rd January, 1825, his ministers presented to the Chambers the laws characteristic of his reign. The first regulated the endowment of the crown during the King's life; the second appropriated to the emigrants who were ruined by the revolution an indemnity of a thousand millions, in reparation of their confiscated estates; the third gave the church a rash and cruel satisfaction, by re-establishing the crime of sacrilege in the civil law, and punishing it with the penalty of

Unpopular government laws.

death ; the fourth re-established the first stratum of the monkish regime, abolished by the Constituent Assembly, by instituting the right of inheriting and possessing incommutable property, in favour of congregations, or of monastic orders.

Public opinion became excited at these symptoms of a return to the past ; the law on the endowment of the crown was agreed to beforehand by everybody. France does not haggle for honours and subsidies with governments which promise fairly, and the prosperous state in which Louis XVIII. had left the finances removed all pretext for parsimony on the part of the Chambers.

The law for indemnifying the emigrants was an act of state policy too important to be judged of on a close view, as it merited to be at a more distant period. One party looked upon it as an attempt in their favour to restore the aristocracy, and the other as an outrage at their expense upon the revolution. It required time and moderation to enable all to look upon it as impartial statesmen do at this day, and have done before, as a grand mutual amnesty amongst all parties concerned ; an eternal cause of recrimination removed from the victims, a dangerous source of disquietude calmed amongst the purchasers of the spoils, an immense current value given to estates depreciated by faulty titles ; and, finally, as the greatest political, administrative, and financial act of the Restoration, the design of Louis XVIII., the work of Charles X., and the glory of M. de Villèle.

The law on sacrilege excited the indignation of every enlightened mind ; while that for the legal re establishment of the monastic orders alarmed the foresight of all. They were both in defiance to the spirit of the age. These three laws thus presented together by the new government to the Chambers characterised beforehand the reign and the ministry of M. de Villèle. In the law for indemnifying the emigrants great political good sense was comprised in a measure equally national and monarchical ; but in the two laws on religion a deplorable and fatal concession was made to the requirements of the sacerdotal party, more ungovernable than that of the royalists,—exactions comprised in two measures which again

Inconsistency of the liberals.

placed the public weal and the executioner's axe in the hands of religion.

VIII

The endowment of the crown during the present reign was enthusiastically voted by the Chamber of Deputies ; but some royalists protested against the imprudent grant of an immense appanage to a prince like the Duke d'Orleans, a dangerous rival to the heirs of the throne. By an absurd contradiction, of which political parties are frequently guilty, the liberals, and General Foy at their head, justified this feudal munificence conferred upon the Duke d'Orleans. The popularity of the prince, who was already caressing the opposition, covered in their eyes the unpopularity of the measure ; for all that is profitable is just in the eyes of a party, and the riches of the Duke d'Orleans seemed to them the endowment of future factions. The law was passed with the aid of these speeches from the opposition, and General Foy became the patron of this almost royal client.

The Duke de Montmorency, reporter in the Chamber of Peers of the law on the religious communities, still further increased the already favourable disposition for concentrating and perpetuating property in the hands of the monastic orders. M. de Montmorency, a pious man, converted by adversity to the faith of his ancestors, and who had formerly inaugurated the ashes of the philosophers in the Pantheon, attempted to repair one error by another, and to serve the cause of God by increasing the wealth of the religious orders. The Chamber of Peers, which was ruled by a wish to return to state religions and political priesthods, could refuse nothing to M. de Montmorency.

IX

But this chamber did not so readily consent to embody in the penal law of an age characterised by liberty of conscience, the vengeance of a dogma by the penalty of death. "The

Opposition to the law of sacrilege.

profanation of *sacred vases* and of *consecrated wafers*," such was the tenor of the law presented by the government of Charles X., "is a crime of *sacrilege*. The profanation of sacred vases is punishable by *simple death*; the profanation of *consecrated wafers* is punishable by the penalty of *parricide*. The parricide is led to the scaffold with naked feet, his head covered with a black veil, and after his sentence has been read to him, his hand is cut off, and then his head." This was introducing the supernatural into the natural order of things; it was imposing upon the senses the visibility and palpability of what were in themselves impalpable and invisible; it was subverting nature and constraining the culprit, under pain of death, to confess, in a sacrament which he might not acknowledge, the presence and the majesty of the Deity himself.

Some moderate and rational-minded men in the Chamber of Peers, the Molés, the Lally-Tollendals, the Broglies, the Barantes, the Pasquiers, the Pontecoulants, the Lanjuinais, and Chateaubriand himself, revolted, in the name of human reason, of humanity, and of religion, against this unjust and barbarous law; but they were overborne by the mass of the prince's flatterers, of the courtiers of the clergy, of the sincerely superstitious, the men of mere routine, the interested chiefs of the episcopacy, and persons indifferent to sacred matters, who gamble their souls as they do the welfare of the people at the political game of hazard. M. de Bonald, a religious philosopher, a man of mild character but absolute in paradox, willingly lent these latter the eloquence and the authority of his voice in the Chamber. His speech comprised the whole theory of persecution; and following the example of all sanguinary theorists who take their own convictions for the truth, he spoke as a prophet rather than argued as a legislator. He thought, like his co-religionist, M. de Maistre, that he was no longer the organ of an opinion human and fallible because it is human, but the infallible organ of God. M. de Maistre had just deified the executioner, M. de Bonald made a divinity of the execution; and he set aside, with a proud and holy derision, those scruples which might make a believer hesitate at shedding the blood of the incredulous. "You exclaim," he said,

It is carried in the Chamber of Peers.

"against the penalty of death ! But let us dare to look boldly at the truth. If the good owe their lives to society in the performance of duty, the wicked owe them to it no less as an example. Religion, you say, enjoins men to forgive ! Yes ; but at the same time it prescribes to power the right to punish ; for, saith the apostle, it is not without cause that it bears the sword. The Saviour asked pardon for his executioners ! Yes ; but his Father did not grant the prayer ; he even extended the chastisement to a whole people, which, without a chief, an altar, or a home, still suffers under the anathema with which it was struck ! Moreover, with reference to the sacrilegious criminal, what more do you do by a sentence of death than to send him before his natural judge ?"

How could men who proffered and who applauded such words as these, pretend to shudder at the language of the assassins of the reign of terror, who had sacrificed their own fathers ? We call for executions in the name of a faith, they replied, and the terrorists called for them in the name of an opinion. But is not faith an opinion of the conscience as opinion is a faith of the mind ? No ; a personal faith, or opinion which calls for blood in the name of God or of men, is no longer an opinion or a faith, but a crime, and history should brand it even before it is disavowed by God.

The ecclesiastical peers were conjured either to vote against the penalty of death, which was interdicted to their sacred profession, or to abstain from voting. They replied, through the medium of Cardinal de la Fare, one of the religious counsellors of the King, that if their profession interdicted them from causing death with their own hands, it did not forbid them from voting for it as legislators, and that they would accordingly vote for it ! The secular punishment of sacrilegious criminals was voted by a large majority.

X.

In the Chamber of Deputies, M. Royer Collard vindicated reason, liberty of conscience, humanity, and the Deity, all outraged by this law, in one of the most powerful speeches.

Impiety of the law of sacrilege.

ever inspired at the French tribune by philosophy, religion, and eloquence. By the most irrefragable definitions he penetrated the very depths of voluntary absurdity, of masked impiety, and of open ferocity comprised in the government measure.

"What is sacrilege?" he exclaimed. "It is, according to this law, the profanation of sacred vases and of consecrated wafers. What then is profanation? It is an act of violence committed voluntarily, through hatred or contempt of religion. What are consecrated wafers? We Catholics believe that consecrated wafers are no longer the wafers that we see, but Jesus Christ the Holy of Holies; God and man together, invisible and present in the most sacred of our mysteries. The violence is thus committed against Jesus Christ himself. The irreverence of this language is shocking, for religion also has its modesty; but the irreverence is that of the law. The sacrilege then consists, I take the law to witness, in an act of violence committed upon Jesus Christ. The crime punishable by the law, under the name of sacrilege, is a direct outrage on the Divine Majesty; that is to say, according to ancient ordinance, the crime of *lese-majesté* divine; and as this crime exclusively springs from the Catholic dogma of the real presence, it results that if, in thought, we can separate from the wafers the real presence and divinity of Jesus Christ, the sacrilege disappears together with the penalty by which it is punished. It is the dogma which makes the crime, and it is also the dogma which gives it a name.

"For three ages past the Christian religion has unfortunately been torn into Catholic and Protestant, and the dogma of the real presence is only true on this side of the strait which separates them; but beyond that it is false and idolatrous. Truth is limited by the seas, the rivers, and the mountains; it is determined, as Pascal says, by a meridian. There are as many varieties of truth as of state religions. Still more, if in every state, and under the same meridian, the political law should change, truth, a docile companion, changes with it; and all these truths, contradictory amongst themselves, have an equal claim to the title of immutable, absolute truth, of which,

Able arguments against the law,

according to your law, we must be satisfied by executions that will at all times and places be equally just. Contempt of God and man cannot be carried farther than this, and yet such are the natural and necessary consequences of legal truth; it is impossible to avoid them when once the principle is admitted. Will it be said that this is not the principle of the law? Whenever this is asserted I shall still repeat that the law admits the legal sacrilege against consecrated wafers, if the *real presence* is not a *legal truth*.

“ But other consequences spring from the same principle. We do not play with religion as with men; we do not allot to it the part it is to take; we cannot say to it with authority, thus far shalt thou go, and no farther. The sacrilege resulting from the profanation of consecrated wafers is provided against in your law; but why that one alone, when there are as many acts of sacrilege as there are modes of outraging the Deity? And why the crime of sacrilege alone, when with equal audacity heresy and blasphemy are knocking at the door? Truth does not suffer these partial compromises. By what right does your profane hand thus divide the Divine Majesty, declaring it vulnerable upon one point alone, and invulnerable upon every other? Sensitive to acts of violence, but insensible to all other kinds of outrage. That writer is not wrong who declares your law to be paltry, fraudulent, and even atheistical! The moment that a single dogma of the Catholic religion enters into the law, that religion should be held true in its fullest extent, and all the others false; it should form a part of the constitution of the state, and thence spread itself through all its civil and political institutions.

“ In breaking a long silence,” said the orator in conclusion, “ I have wished to mark my lively opposition to the theocratic principle which threatens at once society and religion, a principle so much the more serious that it is not, as in the days of barbarity and ignorance, the sincere fury of a too ardent zeal which relights this torch. There is no longer a St. Dominic, neither are we Albigenses. The theocracy of our time is less religious than political; it forms a part of that system of reaction which leads us on; and that which now renews it is its

Which is, however, carried by fanaticism.

counter-revolutionary aspect. Without doubt, gentlemen, the revolution has been impious even to fanaticism and to cruelty; but let them take care, it was that crime, above all others, which caused its ruin; and we may predict to the counter-revolution that reprisals of cruelty, even if only written, will bear evidence against it, and blast it in its turn. I vote against the law "

XI.

This powerful language fell dead against the superstition of some, against the want of intellect of others, and against the cowardice of the greater number. It fell from too great an elevation upon an Assembly which cared very little about repudiating all philosophy, disdaining all eloquence, and profaning all religion, provided it could arm its political passions with all the weapons borrowed from the sanctuary, or from legislation. The Chamber having allowed these words to fall fruitless, the public took them up. They magnified the name of the orator, but they did not arrest the crime and folly of the law. From this day conscience, reason, and the spirit of humanity embraced the side of opposition. It was clearly seen that the government being ruled by a portion of the clergy, was desirous of retrograding whole ages, to the enslaving of souls sealed up in the constrained unity of faith, and threatened by the sword of temporal power. From the very first day Charles X. had given the last watchword of his reign:—restitution of France to the church by the civil law. The hearts of all were turned; the human mind shuddered on perceiving the yoke held forth to it of the maxims and the blood of ages of barbarism; people loved the King but they dreaded his reign. Religion, which was venerated as the most holy expression of liberty, assumed in the minds of all the colour of a tyranny. By calling the Deity into human quarrels they lessened the popular veneration for his holy name.

XII.

The discussion on the indemnity to the emigrants had reference to interests of an inferior order ; but in this the government had to contend with the two elements of resistance the most difficult to overcome,—interest and prejudice. These, it is true, were nothing more than sophisms ; but when orators with these sophisms excite national susceptibility, and the ill-understood avarice of the tax-paying classes, they may raise up insurmountable obstacles to the statesman's happiest conceptions. The opposition endeavoured to persuade France that the indemnity to emigrants was in principle an *amende honorable* imposed by the triumphant counter-revolution upon the insulted revolution. It further endeavoured to convince the tax-payers that the indemnity drawn from their savings, or from their credit, would be a tithe of their fortune cast by a partial government into the fortune of the aristocracy. Neither one nor the other of these ideas had entered into the minds of M. de Villèle or the King. The dynasty was too much interested in flattering the mass of the nation to insult it gratuitously, for the sake of a few exiles forgotten in their provincial mediocrity, or appeased by favours in Paris. Nor did it feel any greater interest in diminishing and alienating the landed property of a citizen-class, rich, and generally royalist, which had sent it, since 1814, devoted or servile majorities, in order to favour some unpopular emigrants, or sons of emigrants, from whom it could not expect either strength or numbers in the elections of towns or departments. The indemnity to the emigrants was, therefore, in the councils of the crown, in no respect a vengeance of party, but a project of state.

XIII

The total value of the estates sold by the nation as spoils, and as vengeance for emigration, during the different phases of confiscation from 1793 to 1803, amounted within a few

Its moral and financial advantages.

millions to a milliard of francs.* This sum represented morally not only a compensation for the iniquity committed by these confiscations upon innocent persons, such as widows, children, old men, families, direct or collateral heirs, led out of the country by the heads of houses, or punished by confiscation of their inheritance for the crimes of others, for the years of proscription passed in foreign countries, the anguish suffered, the indigence experienced in exile, the tears of two or three generations, the return to their country without food or asylum, the beggary submitted to by the side of those paternal domains and residences now possessed by others, the resentment, the maledictions against the new possessors, invested at ridiculous prices with the confiscated lands and houses, but it represented also the alleviation of the fears of these new possessors themselves, hitherto enjoying without security a doubtful estate, and finally, it effaced this premium to future revolutions perpetually exposed to the eyes of the people, as if to set them longing for civil wars and victims, in order to have, in their turn, other spoils to seize on.

XIV

In a financial point of view this compensation of a milliard demanded from the state, represented an increase of two or three milliards in the price of these national estates, restored to their natural value by thus removing the flaw in the titles of their present possessors. The security of these latter, the right of complaint removed from the old possessors, the common right of property restored to all the estates,—these domains, so long under the anathema of public opinion, brought at length into circulation, sold, bought, exchanged, divided, and subdivided, in portions legalized like all the other real property of the kingdom, cultivated, planted, and built upon, with that safety of conscience and certainty of transmission which alone warrant extensive repairs, population increased in proportion to the clearing and improvement of lands, and finally, the duties payable on the registry of the sales and exchanges of

* A thousand millions.

Determined opposition to it,

these properties, multiplied in a still increasing proportion to the profit of the state treasury, into which every mutation would pour its relative contribution.

In a moral view, therefore, it was a reconciliation of classes and of hearts; and in a financial, it was an incalculable coinage raised from the half sterile dust of the confiscated estates. One single law, boldly conceived and generously passed, was about to work this miracle of wealth and policy for the benefit of all. What spirit of madness and of ruin could withhold, or refuse this national benefit, because it was presented by the hand of a king.

XV

Every one felt in his conscience the virtue of such a measure; but the incorrigible vice inherent in deliberative assemblies is, that when once political parties are classed therein, nobody votes according to his reason, but in conformity with his party. The opposition declared at once against this most liberal and most magnanimous law, because it was presented by a royalist minister. The discussion revived the exciting questions of the crime of emigration, of the parricide of bearing arms against one's country, however ungrateful it might be, and of the justice of confiscating the property of those who attack the national family and their native soil. There was little to reply in principle to this avenging and protective right of nations which, in all ages and countries, imposes upon those who disavow and threaten their country, the penalty for that country, the universal law of retaliation; but what, in fact, was there not to be urged as an excuse to those who remembered the circumstances of the French emigrations from 1789 to 1830?

The first, no doubt, but in a small number, comprised a real conspiracy of the court aristocracy, and a war gratuitously declared before the hour of danger against the reforms and the legitimate transformations of their country; but the others were impulsive movements of the body of nobility to follow their princes, fidelity of the officer to his colours borne beyond

By the liberals and revolutionists.

the frontier, military and chivalrous devotion of the sword to the King, who constituted the country in ancient prejudice; at a later period almost constrained flights, as those of Lafayette, of the Duke of Orleans, and of Carnot himself, to foreign countries, to escape the dungeons, the revolutionary tribunals, and the scaffolds, voluntary proscriptions preceding others innumerable and implacable. But, whatever might be the excuses or the aggravations of the misfortune or the crime of so many various and successive emigrations, if the confiscation decreed against them was just, applied to those who were guilty of deserting their country,—was it not iniquitous, unmerited, and plundering, as applied to the innocent? What then was the strange logic of this revolution, made to establish the dogma of exclusive personal responsibility, and of the non-inheritance of penalties; and which threw down at the doors of their paternal homes old men, women, and children, in expiation of the crime or the error of a husband, of a son, or of a father? Nature revolted no less than reason against such cruelties. But even if these cruelties could be justified in the heat of the struggle which France had to maintain against Europe in arms, and against herself during the perils and the convulsions of the country, how could they be defended a quarter of a century later, by pacified adversaries and by reasoning legislators? The orators of the liberal opposition, and amongst them even those whose lives bore the stain of foreign emigration, such as MM. de Thiard and De Lafayette, made this sacrifice to popularity. General Foy, for the first time unjust towards the exiles and the peace of his country, aroused, by his eloquence, the slumbering anger of the revolution. He ventured to compare the indemnity which France, reconciled, voted to herself to close her own wounds, to the booty which the enemies and the invaders of conquered France carried to foreign countries. This speech tarnished the generous fame of the orator. M. de Labourdonnaie, the implacable adversary of M. de Villèle, opposed the law on other grounds. The asperity of his disposition poisoned even the good, when that good came from the hands of a rival. He demanded the indemnity as a penalty inflicted on the revolution, instead of

Triumph of the Indemnity Bill.

asking for it with M. de Villèle, as a compensation to glory and to the safety of all. To have demanded the indemnity in the former manner would have been an insult to the nation, but M. de Villèle made it a compliment.

XVI.

The Duke de Broglie, a young tribune of the liberal opposition, and revolutionary on this occasion, repeated in the Chamber of Peers the unseasonable echo of the cruel sophisms of his friends of the Chamber of Deputies. He endeavoured, like General Foy, to irritate the mind of the country against a measure calculated to expand the hearts of all; he gave a colouring of vengeance to an act of equity. M. de Chateaubriand's reply was full of magnanimous and politic sentiments, the proper arguments to be used on such a question. The law, though hourly attacked, was nobly defended, and triumphed everywhere.

To liquidate this indemnity of a thousand millions to the exiles of several regimes, without burthening the income of the country, M. de Villèle divided it into five annual instalments, and paid it in government bonds at 3 per cent interest, created for this purpose. A commission composed of peers and deputies, was charged with this immense and laborious examination. That which was declared to be impossible was accomplished with order, promptitude, and regularity. In five years the great wound of the revolution was closed, and the milliard of francs divided amongst millions of victims, or heirs of victims,—restored peace to consciences, security to possessors, ease to the indemnified, value to estates, solidity to public credit, and circulation to property. This measure alone, inscribed upon the tomb of M. de Villèle, would be the most glorious epitaph for the financier and the statesman.

XVII.

Those members of the opposition who had the most obstinately repulsed the healing measure of the indemnity, enjoyed the double benefit of the popularity acquired in combating it,

Coronation of Charles X

and the fortune recovered in receiving it. Not one of them returned his portion to the treasury as the price of crime. The Duke of Orleans, already invested with his immense appanage, was still further enriched by this munificence to the amount of fourteen millions. MM. de Lafayette, De Thiard, the Duke de Liancourt, Gaëtan de Larochefoucauld, and De Lameth, recovered important sums. The liquidation was as impartial as the idea which had decreed it. The King was accountable neither to his friends nor his enemies, but to France, which was to survive him, and which was for ever benefited by this compensation.

The conclusion of the session was occupied by some financial measures, and a litigious examination of the accounts of the Spanish war, in connection with which M. Ouvrard was accused of corruption, and the staff of the Duke d'Angoulême of peculation. It was all, however, confined to mere rumour, which there was nothing to justify; and it therefore subsided into calumny and malevolence. The King, anxious to be consecrated by the hand of religion, to which he had devoted his reign, did not suffer his ministers to distract the attention of the country by further proceedings.

XVIII.

Charles X. looked upon his coronation as a real sacrament of his crown, and the people as a ceremony which carried back the imagination to the pomps of the past; political men regarded it as a concession to the court of Rome which affected the investiture of kings, and as a denial in fact of the principle not promulgated, but latent since 1789, of the sovereignty of the people. But the mass quietly discussed an act which was only considered generally as a great piece of royal etiquette, without any importance either for or against the institutions of the country. It was the fête of the accession to the throne, a luxury of the crown. The oath to exterminate heretics which the kings of France formerly took at their coronation, but which was no longer compatible with the emancipation of consciences, was modified in concert with the court of Rome and

* False position of some of the personages.

the bishops : it was replaced by an oath to govern in conformity with the charter. It was therefore in reality a new consecration of liberty as well as of the crown. The pomp, more worthy of the theatre than of history, was quite as imposing as those traditions which are no longer supported by the ancient faith, and now only live in the memory and the apparatus. The envoys of the whole of the European powers were present in all the splendour of their respective courts. The priesthood resumed there for a moment the superiority it had formerly exercised over crowned heads ; it was even pretended that the *Sainte ampoule* had been found again, a miraculous phial of oil, which the royal superstition of remote ages believed to have been brought from heaven by a dove, to anoint crowned heads, and which had been broken by the convention in 1793, as a relic of the league between kings and pontiffs to dazzle the eyes of the people. The former lives of the personages in attendance generally clashed with their present functions. The sword of Charlemagne was presented to the King by a deputation of marshals, soldiers of the republic, and destroyers of thrones. M. de Talleyrand, officiating pontiff of the altar of the revolution at the Champ-de-Mars in 1791, but now a married man and grand chamberlain of the palace, drew on the lily-ornamented boots of the eldest son of the church. M. de Chateaubriand, in a recent pamphlet, had poetised the coronation of kings as one of those ruins of the past which his genius delighted to recall in his vivid colouring. He availed himself of this circumstance to present his homage to the new King, by whom he was graciously received ; but the favour of Charles X. for the enemy of M. de Villèle never amounted to confidence. He did not find in the chivalrous emigrant the discipline which suits a monarchy. Republics alone are sufficiently wide to contain men of a certain stamp, and M. de Chateaubriand, though monarchical in decorum and ambition, was republican in his genius

XIX

An extensive amnesty, which covered with royal indulgence all the seditions and all the faults of the enemies of the Bour-

Death of General Foy.

bons, was promulgated by the King before he re-entered Paris. His return to the capital was a triumph. The royalist party was intoxicated at having found the monarchy again, even to its miraculous vestiges ; the sacerdotal party took pride to itself at having resumed, in the presence of the people, the attitude and importance of a preserver of thrones ; the Bonapartist party was mingled, by all the military and courtier-like favours, with the old aristocracy ; the liberal party being amnestied, augured a reign of gentleness and free discussion ; the people, dazzled with pomp and luxury, were gratified, and reposed in a prospect of serenity. These were the holidays of royalty and of the life of Charles X. ; but they were not to continue long.

XX.

General Foy, one of the men most worthy of enjoying this serenity of the country, and of illustrating liberty without destroying power, died on the 29th November, in the vigour of his mind and the flower of his talent. Disease of the heart, the malady peculiar to men of genius, carried him off. He died poor, like those men who forget themselves in thinking of their country. His funeral resembled that of Mirabeau, and was attended by all classes of the population. He had not the genius at once creative and subversive of the French Demosthenes ; neither was he born at one of those epochs when it is the mission of the orator to overturn and to re-construct. The epoch of the Restoration called for other thoughts and other virtues.

The genius of this tribune consisted in the equity which makes allowance for the passions of some, for the souvenirs of others, for the errors and the virtues of all ; the impartiality which selects from all opinions the honesty and utility they display in the common cause ; the patience which defers to a future opportunity what cannot be forced from circumstances without doing violence to the spirit of the time ; the patriotism which forgets one's own popularity the better to consult one's conscience ; a serene eloquence which elevates discussion into the calm regions of political wisdom, instead of that impassioned language which disturbs the judgment of the hearers ; and

Filial piety of General Foy.

finally the justice which in the mouth of the orator can alone obtain pardon for the truth; nature had conferred all these gifts upon General Foy. He had shed his blood for his country in the field without servile prostration at the footstool of despotism; and his long disgrace under the Empire was the evidence of his independence. He had participated in the glory, but never in the prostration of his companions in arms; and had placed his honour in his sentiments rather than his promotion. Though a stoical republican in the ranks of the imperial army, he was a temporising and moderate republican in the chambers of the Restoration; what he sought for in the republic was less the name than the virtues. A representative and constitutional liberty under a monarchy temperate and necessary in his eyes, to save and reconstitute the country in the presence of Europe, satisfied him for the time. He had rather a respect for, than a repugnance to the Restoration. and in his most stern harangues, hatred was less prominent than benevolent counsel. He was grateful to the Bourbons for having brought back the liberty of 1789; and he might have been the minister of a charter as much as the tribune of a democracy. He entertained a horror for the reign of demagogues, which depreciates the mind and decomposes society; its mire and its blood were equally repugnant to his nature as to his conscience. He possessed the true aristocracy of nature, the nobility of instinct. He was the modern gentleman springing from the people, deriving his titles from his own breast, and his dignity from his own sentiments

Though a free-thinker in religion, he preserved for the domestic worship of his paternal home those tender recollections which still constitute filial piety though they may no longer amount to faith. He had a pious mother whose memory he adored; and having asked himself what funeral commemoration would be the most acceptable to the manes of this lady, if her soul could communicate her wishes to her son from the realms of death, he answered the question himself, that it would be the celebration of the Christian mysteries which she loved to witness when alive. Neither his military nor his parliamentary life had ever turned him from this piece of

His splendid funeral,

family piety. Whatever might be the country, or the tumult into which he was led by his duty as a soldier, or a representative of the people, on the anniversary of his mother's death he retired from his troops, or his colleagues, into religious seclusion, the reminiscence of his early years; he sought out a church and a priest in the country, and economised from his pay the sum necessary to have divine service privately celebrated, in commemoration of her who had brought him into the world. He attended it himself in tears, and he replied to his comrades, who were astonished at this piety in a republican soldier, that it was proper to honour the dead, not according to the rites we laid down for our own observance, but those which they had faithfully followed during their mortal life.

XXI.

An entire population, composed without exception of all classes and of all opinions, but principally under the direction of military men and chiefs of the opposition, eager to identify themselves with his memory, gave him a whole city for his *cartège*. The young men unharnessing the horses of his funeral car, bore his coffin to the grave themselves. Casimir Perier, a liberal banker,—at that time ambitious of funereal popularity,—pronounced upon his tomb the sad adieus of the opposition to its leader. At the moment he was celebrating the real disinterestedness of General Foy, and pointing him out to the people as one who had so often roused the spirit of the country, and declined the power and the fortune that were offered to him, dying without leaving an inheritance to his wife and five children: "We adopt them!" exclaimed the spectators. France, on the following day, kept its word to his memory; and a national subscription at the voice of public opinion, ratified by general esteem, produced a million of francs for the family of the deceased orator. The Duke of Orleans, eager to take advantage of every popular breeze, subscribed ten thousand francs, Casimir Perier the same sum; M. Laffitte, who would not be surpassed by anyone in munificence and popularity, contributed fifty thousand francs on this occa-

And provision for his children

sion. France did herself honour in thus honouring this great and honest citizen, who left at the tribune and in the ranks of loyal opposition a vacancy which has never been filled up. On the day when the monarchy was tottering, he might have sustained it by his counsels or replaced it under his direction. A frank and republican liberty, inspired by the mind of General Foy, would have corrupted the nation less than the usurpation of the throne by the first natural guardian of hereditary right.

BOOK FORTY-SIXTH.

Death of the Emperor Alexander—Noble conduct of the Grand Duke Nicholas—Attempted insurrection at St. Petersburg—Abdication of the Grand Duke Constantine; his portrait—Nicholas is proclaimed Emperor of Russia—These events cause a lively emotion in France—Emancipation of St. Domingo—Law on the right of primogeniture—Increasing power of the clerical party—The jubilee—The missions—Denunciation of M. de Montlosier—The Duke de Rivière and M. Tharin are charged with the education of the Duke de Bordeaux—M. Hyde de Neuville in Portugal—Law against the press—Speech of M. Royer Collard—Discussion in the Chamber of Peers on the petition of M. de Montlosier—Death of the Duke de Larochefoucauld Liancourt; profanation of his coffin—Charles X. withdraws the law against the press—Review of the National Guard; the legions cry "*Vive la Charte !*"—Irritation of the court—Disbanding of the National Guard—Effect of this measure—M. de Villèle tries to give some satisfaction to irritated public opinion—Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies—Death of Manuel—His character by Beranger—Nomination of seventy-six new peers—Elections of 1828—Coalition of the liberals and royalists—Victory of the opposition—Tumult in Paris; bloodshed in the streets of St. Denis and St. Martin—Fall of the minister Villèle—Battle of Navarino.

I.

THE death of the Emperor Alexander took place soon after the funeral of General Foy. He was seized with an illness at Taganrog, during a visit he was making to his new provinces of the Crimea, and expired with the resignation of a Cenobite; for his mind had for some time past been fixed upon Heaven. The great reverses and successes of his short existence had made him the hero of the North and the arbiter of Europe. He had set an example of brilliant virtues, and made the name of Russia more popular than any of his predecessors. Liberty, for which a portion of his Asiatic or barbarous subjects were not

Death of the Emperor Alexander.

yet prepared, owes him a debt of gratitude in Europe. In 1814 he was one of the inspirers and the most magnanimous guarantee of the charter. At a later period he dreaded the excesses, but never the lights of liberty. History must class him amongst the limited number of princes who have reigned conscientiously and in the fear of God; and who have piously kept their own glory and grandeur subordinate to the glory and grandeur of humanity. The Emperor Alexander's reign may be characterised as less Russian than European. Russia wept for him,—the Empress died of grief,—while France and Europe, for a time ungrateful, only rendered tardy justice to his virtues.

II.

The transition from the reign of Alexander to that of his successor, was full of mysteries, of troubles, of catastrophes, of conspiracies, and even of tragedies at St. Petersburg. Some young military men of his armies, and some princes of his court, since they had become acquainted with the revolutions of Paris and London, had conceived the idea of a premature revolution, in which institutions were to precede principles, manners, and customs, in an empire which was a despotic federation of peoples scarcely nationalized. This group of conspirators wished to avail themselves of the interregnum to revolutionize Russia; circumstances favourable to some palace or barrack tragedies having tempted and deceived them on the possibility of a national revolution.

The Emperor Alexander left three brothers, Constantine, Nicholas, and Michael. The right of primogeniture decreed the empire to Constantine, who was a perfect Scythian, having the external appearance, the rudeness, the fire, and the bravery of a barbarian, with the simplicity of a child, the devotion of a myrmidon, the fidelity of a slave, and the sensibility of a woman. He dreaded so much the stormy nature of his heart and the transports of his temper on an absolute throne where his passions, which now only agitated his own mind, would agitate a whole empire, that he had, by a voluntary act, antici-

Noble conduct of the Grand Duke Nicholas.

pated his own deposition; and kneeling at the feet of his mother, the domestic divinity of the Russians, he took an oath that he never would ascend the throne. A frantic and virtuous love for a beautiful Polonese, the Princess Lowietz, the possession of whose heart and person he preferred to all the thrones in the world, had contributed to this anticipative abdication. The Empress his mother, and the Emperor Alexander had only consented to the divorce of Constantine with his first wife, and to his marriage with a subject, on condition that he would promise not to place her with himself upon the throne of the Romanoffs. Since he had made this sacrifice, which was repaid by the love and happiness he enjoyed with the Princess Lowietz, Constantine being sent away to Poland, reigned there as the viceroy of his brother, and the generalissimo of his armies. The virtues and suggestions of his new Polish wife had softened his character and procured him the love of the Poles

III.

The Grand Duke Nicholas, who was declared heir to the throne in consequence of this renunciation of Constantine, which was lodged with the senate at St. Petersburg, and promulgated in 1822 in all the Russias, generously refused to avail himself of an abdication enforced by love and filial respect. On receiving the news of Alexander's death, he repaired to the senate, as the first subject of his brother, and he there proclaimed Constantine emperor. Then assembling the troops, he appeared before them, and demanded from them an oath of fidelity to his brother.

"I have," he said in his address to the army and the people, "neither the desire nor the right to take advantage of a rash renunciation of the crown. The immutable order of succession gives it to my brother; I will not for a single day leave the empire uncertain as to its sovereign!"

At the same time, and by a contest of disinterestedness almost unheard of on the footsteps of a throne, Constantine being informed at Warsaw of the death of Alexander, and the

Great self-denial of Constantine.

proclamation of his own accession to the throne at St. Petersburg, and being hailed by the title of Czar by his army, rejected the title with magnanimous humility. Driven for a while to madness in his mental struggle between grief for the loss of Alexander, horror at the idea of abandoning a wife whom he adored, the terror with which the responsibility of sovereign power inspired his own breast, and perhaps the immensity of the sacrifice he was about to make, he shut himself up alone for a whole day in his most private apartments in the palace of Warsaw; sending away from him even his wife, who vainly implored admittance by voice and gesture through the windows of a gallery. There he gave himself up to the convulsions of a silent deliberation with himself, during which, evincing by his external violence the struggle which was passing within him, he broke to atoms, kicked about, and threw out of the windows the ornaments, the vases, and the mirrors of this part of the palace. The agitation of his soul having thus at length evaporated he became calm, issued from his retreat, and throwing himself at the feet of the Princess Lowietz, he melted into tears of generosity and happiness. "Ah! congratulate me," he said to her, "and rejoice, for we shall not reign!" Constantine wrote his resolution to his brother, and prepared to go to St. Petersburg, where he was expected for another purpose, that he might set the example to the people and the army of obedience to his brother.

Meanwhile, the conspirators, urged by this fortuitous circumstance to take advantage of the delay in the succession, concerted together to mislead both the army and the people, to seize upon the palace and the citadel, and to proclaim, in the place of Constantine or Nicholas, a provisional government, composed of their principal confederates, who were to dispose of the throne only on certain conditions of which they were to be the arbiters. The members of the revolutionary association were numerous even in the Imperial Guard; they were actuated by a secret directing committee, at the head of which were prominently seen the Princes Troubetskoï and Relieff, the brothers Bestoujeff, Colonel Pestel, and the four Moura vieffs, the hearts and hands of the conspiracy.

Conspiracy quelled by Nicholas.

Being apprised by their rank in the army, and by their court connections, that the senate and the troops were, on the following day, to take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, they spread a report through the barracks that the accession of the Grand Duke Nicholas to the throne was a surreptitious coronation, a fraudulent assumption of the empire, a treason against the law of inheritance, a crime demanded of the soldiers against their fidelity to the Arch Duke Constantine. They awoke that military popularity which this prince, who was endeared to the troops by his bravery and even by his barbarism, enjoyed in the camp, and in the most exclusively Muscovite mass of the people. Some regiments roused to insurrection by their officers, assembled tumultuously in their barrack-yards, swore fidelity to Constantine, expelled their officers, issued under arms from their barracks, and drew up in a hostile attitude before the doors of the senate, to impose upon that body the emperor of their choice. The crowds of astonished populace increased every hour around this centre of sedition; but the chiefs Troubetskoi and Relieff, either dismayed at the last moment at the rashness of their enterprise, or holding back until it should succeed, concealed themselves and left the direction of it to chance. The young Emperor, on the contrary, firm as his conscience, and bold as his right, mounted his horse and, accompanied by a group of intrepid generals, galloped to the barracks, harangued the regiments as yet in a state of indecision, suspended or brought them back to his cause, and prepared to fight those whose obstinacy he could not shake.

While the spirit of the troops was wavering between sedition and obedience to the Emperor, the Governor of Petersburg, Miloradowich, summoned the revolted troops drawn up on the square of the senate to return to their duty; but Kakowski, a revolted officer, shot him dead with a pistol. Nicholas then advanced to revenge his death, at the head of his guard and of the artillery. He ordered them to fire, and a shower of grape-shot cut down the motionless rebels, who fell like the janissaries in the midst of a crime which they looked upon as fanatical fidelity. The empire, at first virtuously refused, was now

He is crowned at Moscow.

regained by energy. Some of the conspirators denounced their chief, Troubetskoi, who threw himself at the feet of the conqueror and implored his life. "I give it you," said the Emperor to him, "if you have the courage to bear it."

The conspiracy thus stifled, in clemency for some, in exile to Siberia for the greater number, and in the execution of five of the most culpable, left no other traces in the empire than the mourning of some families and the undisturbed calmness of the young Emperor.

He went to Moscow to be crowned, and there Constantine was awaiting his brother and his sovereign. He appeared before him simply as a colonel at the head of his regiment, and set the example of uttering the first cry of fidelity. He refused to sit down upon the throne, on a level with the imperial throne, which Nicholas had ordered to be prepared for him in the cathedral. The two brothers embraced each other in presence of the people, who mingled their tears of admiration with their tears of generosity. After the coronation, Constantine withdrew for ever from the two capitals, and died in Lithuania, where the young wife for whom he had sacrificed the empire, being unable to survive his loss, followed him almost immediately to the tomb.

These events, to which antiquity can boast nothing superior in virtue and greatness, had, for a while, a lively effect on imaginations in France, and made the revolutionary party believe that the north was getting ripe too soon for liberty. The liberals accordingly hoped, while the monarchists trembled; but it was an illusion on both sides. Secret societies hatch conspiracies; but peoples ripe for liberty alone make revolutions. The north became consolidated under the hand of the son of Paul I.; and France only asked to become tranquil under that of Charles X.

The party which now ruled her seemed to make a system of creating agitations by giving umbrage to the country. The ministry which no longer refused anything to the church party, did not dare to refuse the aristocratical party enough. The session of 1820 was only distinguished by two measures, one of which did honour to the wisdom of government, while

The law of primogeniture

the other disturbed equality. the passion of the greater number.

These two measures were the emancipation of the Island of St. Domingo, formerly a French possession, for the consideration of one hundred and fifty millions of francs indemnity, which the government of St. Domingo engaged to pay to the ancient colonists dispossessed by the independence of this colony. The second was the law to re-establish in France a part of the privileges which the right of primogeniture formerly conferred upon eldest sons, in the inheritance of their fathers. This law, which was in direct opposition to all the principles of natural equity, that the revolution had made the basis of its codes, had for its object to create again in the course of time, an aristocracy in families and an immutability of property, which the monarchy, also immutable in its nature, wished to found around it, as an indirect feudality of fortunes, a feeble compensation for the feudality of rights sapped by the revolution. It was a maximum imposed on the division of estates and capital, which, by multiplying possessors, increased every day the strength of the democracy. It was a violation of the manners and customs, as well as the laws of the country; for the privilege of the eldest sons over their younger brothers divided and poisoned the peace of families. Equality amongst children was a principle of fraternity as well as of justice. To bestow on parents the right of proportionally disinheriting the one class, exclusively to enrich the other, was to impair at its source the paternal as well as the filial sentiment. Too much favour on one side and too little on the other, appears to be an injustice or an injury. Under the pretext of morality the government sapped the most infallible of morals—the moral of the heart in its most sacred sanctuary, the domestic hearth. It was not less offensive in a political point of view, by holding out the monarchy as the necessary patronage of privilege and inequality.

In presenting such a law as a homage to the aristocracy, M. de Pyronnet alienated an immense majority of families from the Bourbons; it was a fatal idea, and next to the law of sacrilege one of the most active causes of the revolution. The

Is thrown out by the Peers.

final argument in favour of this law was uttered in the Chamber of Peers by M. de Montalembert, an orator who had long been an emigrant in England, and who endeavoured to introduce into the equalised customs of his country the patrician element of the British constitution.

"Our actual laws on succession," he said, "have the deplorable advantage of combining equally well with the republican régime; and with despotism. A constitutional monarchy requires a political class, and this is the class which the law is destined to establish, by putting a stop to the parcelling out of estates!" This idea, which was evidently that of M. de Peyronnet, by instituting an hereditary political class, threw back into electoral helotism the most numerous and active mass of the nation. M. Pasquier combatted this system like a statesman, and the law fell at his voice. Too timid for some, and too bold for others, it was thrown out by the Chamber of Peers, and a cry of joy resounded through the nation. Paris was spontaneously illuminated as for a victory of equality over the counter-revolution. The Chamber of Deputies only preserved a fragment of it, but the country bore it in memory.

IV

The increasing power, now more and more evident, of a clerical party in the secret councils of the King, and in the distribution of civil and military employments, was apparent to every eye. Charles X. seemed to have made a vow at his coronation to convert France to the faith he himself sincerely believed in. The official pomp of the *jubilee*, a sort of divine amnesty granted at certain intervals to the impieties and laxity of manners of Catholic peoples—the universal missions in the towns, in the country, and even in the regiments—the crucifixions, the crosses, the pious monuments erected under government favour and encouragement, throughout the length and breadth of the land—the public processions, followed by the Prince, by his family, by the Chamber of Peers, the Chamber of Deputies, the army, and the court—the congregation of ecclesiastics and the columns of priests who seemed to have

Denunciation of the church party.

again taken possession of the soil of Clovis—the encroachment more or less avowed, but visible, in public instruction and in the affairs of the Jesuits, a latent order existing in civil society—all began to characterize the government of the new king as an official government or conspiracy against freedom of conscience, and antagonistic to the acquired rights of the human mind.

The opposition which was rising in the country against these tendencies to the hidden despotism of the priesthood, not only amongst the enemies of the Bourbons, but even amongst the least doubtful friends of the monarchy, was still only a murmur. It broke forth in the speech of M. de Montlosier, who denounced to France, in the name of royalty and religion, the sacerdotal faction as “an encroaching and ambitious party, creeping in the shade under the inspiration of the Jesuits, an illegal and anonymous congregation, penetrating into all the secular administrations, associating the magistracy with their views, controlling the ministry, appropriating and distributing all favours, selling to Rome the traditional liberties of the French church; preparing, in short, by its interested sectarians dispersed through every division of public power, to enslave royalty itself, in order to reduce again under the yoke of a secret and intolerant church, a people, no longer religious, but degraded to the most servile superstitions.”

V.

This denunciation borrowed immense credit from the name, the courage, and the talent of its author. M. de Montlosier was a gentleman of illustrious birth from Auvergne, but still more illustrious by the part he had taken in the Constituent Assembly, where he had defended religious liberty against philosophical persecution, as he now defended philosophical liberty against sacerdotal conspiracy. He had followed the monarchy in its exile; but having returned to France under the Empire, he had written, at the instigation of Napoleon, a remarkable historical paradox in favour of the feudal system, and insulting to all democracy. On their accession to the

The King suspected of Jesuitism.

throne, the Bourbons had found him again a royalist and patrician, altogether incredulous as to the equality of classes; a contemnor of the charter for not having reconstituted a legal nobility; an enemy to plebeian inconstancy, which raises everything but sustains nothing on the surface of society; and convinced that the people are a body to which the aristocracy alone gives a head. The encroachments of the clergy, a sacred and elective democracy issuing from the people to conquer the people, and substituting itself at once for royalty and nobility, did not give less umbrage to his pride as a gentleman than to his system as a publicist. He arose alone to strike the first blow at the clergy. The modern spirit astonished to find such an auxiliary, the opposition, liberalism, journalism, the revolution, philosophy alarmed and until then silent, responded with unanimous acclamations to the onslaught of M. de Montlosier. The Chambers caught at it to demand an explanation from government of the mysteries of the political congregation, of the freedom of the Gallican church—which concerned them very little, but of which they pretended to be the jealous guardians—and finally, of the illegal existence of the corporation of the Jesuits, abolished in France as a militia of Rome, and which had been disavowed by Rome herself before the revolution, as a power which disquieted even the authority it pretended to serve.

A secret, but a popular rumour, giving an invidious colouring to the piety of the King, exhibited this prince as a laical associate of the Jesuits, privately adopting their costume, subject to their regulations, and as having promised to give up the kingdom to them in return for that heaven which they had promised to his pious complicity.

M. de Frayssinous, minister of public instruction, being called upon for explanations on the subject of the congregation and the Jesuits, by Cassimir Perier in the name of the opposition, and by M. Agier in the name of the liberal royalists, reduced the political congregation, in his first speech, to the dimensions of an association of the faithful, directed for the last twenty years to the purposes of mutual edification, by some priests who were strangers to political intrigues. He

His popularity declines in consequence.

declared that he himself had never been a member of this congregation, that he might be independent in his faith and in his labours; that this associated sanctity might have served as a mask to the ambition of some of its members; that hypocrisy was of all opinions and all sects, but that this personal and free association exercised no unwarrantable power over the government. In a second speech, having been reproached by the Jesuits for keeping them in the shade, and being authorised to name them, he did so; and he also reduced their pretended universal monopoly to the direction of a few colleges, and traced back their existence as tolerated in France to the reign of Napoleon, during which the Emperor's uncle, then Archbishop of Lyons, had invited them into, and protected them in his diocese.

These timid attacks and explanations, without result, increased instead of diminishing the encroachments, either latent or avowed, of the clerical party desirous of ruling. After the session, M. de Montlosier tendered his accusation in vain to the tribunals, but these being still more dependent than the Chambers, declared themselves incompetent. The question was thus referred to public opinion, which caught at it with fury. The term Jesuitism became a popular reproach to the government of the Bourbons. This vague insult, without any precise definition, and therefore without any possible refutation, confounded the royalty of the Bourbons in the eyes of the people, with a domineering sanctuary. This league, which was true with respect to some courtiers, but false as regarded the monarch, between the spirit of the court, and the spirit of the church, spread over this reign a taint of mystery and hypocrisy, which overcast the imagination of the masses, who were led to believe they were walking upon snares. The people would have pardoned the tyranny of a King, because such a tyranny has sometimes frankness and grandeur to recommend it, and it dies with the tyrant; but it never pardons the attempt at tyranny of a corporation, because the tyranny of a sacerdotal body never dies; and it seems to profane the Deity in making use of his holy name for human usurpations. From this time forward, Charles X., who was still beloved by some and pitied

Unpopular governor of the Duke of Bordeaux.

by others, became an object of disaffection, or of suspicion with the greater number. The shadow of Jesuitism and of the congregation soared over all his acts, and even his virtues were distorted into crimes by the malice of his enemies and the credulity of the people.

The nomination of the Duke de Rivière to the functions of governor of the Duke of Bordeaux, in place of the virtuous Duke de Montmorency, who died on Good Friday in an ecstasy of prayer at the foot of the altar, still further embittered these suspicions. M. de Rivière, the friend of Charles X., and for a long time a victim, with M. de Polignac, to his attachment to this prince, merited for his chivalrous fidelity, the confidence and friendship of the King, but in public opinion he was held to be a servile associate of the church party. In his hands the heir of the throne appeared like a hostage given by the monarchy to the priesthood. There was nothing of that splendour either in his name or genius which the imagination of nations requires in the tutors of their princes. A liberal and religious Fénelon would scarcely have been adequate, in the opinion of the nation, to the difficulties, the grandeur, and the delicacy of a royal education, in which the teacher would have to reconcile the conscience of an ancient race with the reason of a new people; to separate in a youthful mind, the light from darkness, to render reason pious, and piety reasonable.

Public opinion designated M. de Chateaubriand, but the King appointed the Duke de Rivière and the Abbé Tharin, the Bishop of Strasbourg, a prelate whose speeches and writings saddened piety itself by the virulence of his sacred invectives against the age, as well as the excess of his avowed zeal for the Jesuits. M. de Chateaubriand's journal, in publishing these imprudent selections of the King, stigmatised them as acts of fatality and delirium. The names of the men indicated the line in which the court wished to direct the hereditary understanding of the dynasty, the line indicated the purpose, and the purpose indicated the abyss.

VI

Every day Charles X. allowed himself to drift still further from his people ; and as the strictures of the press continued to annoy the court and the church, he rashly announced at the opening of the session of 1827, that he had ordered his minister to silence that organ. This threat alone indicated still more violent measures. The silence demanded by governments is a prelude to the tyranny of peoples. An approaching and a fatal struggle was anticipated between the crown and the nation ; and this presentiment redoubled the boldness of the court, the irritation of the tribunes, the licence of the journals, and the underhand agitation of the masses.

Meanwhile the King maintained with energy, in foreign countries, the dignity and influence of the nation. M. Hyde de Neuville, his ambassador in Portugal, had acted like an ambassador of Louis XIV., in the quarrels which agitated and stained Lisbon with blood, between Don Miguel and Don Pedro. The first of these represented absolutism, and the second the constitutional spirit. Spain, where French opinions were predominant, threatened Portugal with an intervention to support the counter-revolution there. England, through the organ of Mr. Canning, broke out at the idea of this intervention of which she said France was at the bottom. England avenged herself for our fortunate boldness in Spain, by favouring the emancipation of the Spanish colonies of South America, which were separating from the mother country to form themselves into republics. "I am calling a new world into existence," exclaimed Mr. Canning, assuming the attitude of the genius of tempests. "I have balanced the account! I have left to France the ungrateful burthen of old Spain, which I shall deprive of America ; and I shall cover Portugal against the invasion of absolutism." These words were followed by a debarkation of English troops at Lisbon. The French ministry very properly declined a second intervention in the Peninsula, where they would have to contend with England, whose ancient patronage of Portugal was recognised in fact, and guaranteed

Unpopular law against the press.

in right by treaties. M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Labourdonnaie, royalist orators, vainly called for this useless and capricious war, for an empty influence upon the Tagus; but M. de Villèle, and the Chambers with him, refused it.

These external questions only agitated some enthusiastic and speculative minds; but the law against the press comprised the real elements of public agitation. Liberty and philosophy both felt that their last weapons were about to be broken in their hands, and their fragments thrown at the feet of the court and the bishops, who never ceased to thunder against these liberties of human thought.

This law was not only a penal, but a sumptuary law against the written word; and it extended not only to the present and the future, but also to the past. It suppressed by threats, and by the fiscal provisions with which it was armed, the re-printing of almost all the books of the eighteenth century which had breathed upon the old world and brought forth the new. The printer, responsible in his fortune for what he re-produced, had to implore from necessity the preliminary censorship of the government, or of the church, before he would lend his types to any writer, either living or dead. A universal clamour was raised against this law, as against a return to barbarism, of the ideas, the sciences, the arts, the industry, and the trades, interested in mind or profession in that immense interchange of intelligence of which printing is the protecting vehicle; even the French academy, servile in position, but independent in mind, held an extraordinary sitting to deliberate on this peril to the human mind. Royalists and liberals mingled together in an equal protest against this systematic extinction of light in favour of darkness. M. Michaud, M. de Lacretelle, and M. Villemain, voluntarily submitted to the loss of their professorships, and the suppression of their fortune as men of letters, for the crime of having implored the justice of the King against the attempt of his ministers; but public opinion repaid them in popularity for their professional disinterestedness. All men solicitous about the finest attribute of the human mind, the faculty of thought; all those in whose eyes the multiplication of ideas by written speech was a gift of God,

Absurd arguments in its favour.

an implement of perfection, or a defensive weapon of liberty ; Royer-Collard, Dupont (de l'Eure), Hyde de Neuville, Chateaubriand, Bertin de Vaux, Agier, Noailles, Labourdonnaie himself, pledged themselves to protest from the tribune against this disarming of the national reason.

All the sectarians of the sacerdotal party, MM. de Rougé, De Sallaberry, De Frenilly, De Curzay, De Sesmaison, De Castelbajac, De Maquillé, De Forbin des Essarts, prepared to support the inquisitorial project of M. de Peyronnet. One after another they protested from the tribune, in the name of authority without controul, and of faith without reasoning, against the faculty which alone renders authority respectable, and religion divine. One of them proposed the legal mutilation of the sense which propagates ideas ; and another declared that printing was the only plague with which Moses had forgotten to strike Egypt, and affirmed that the ancients had been acquainted with this means of propagating and eternising speech ; but that they had stifled it in the gloom of their mysteries, for fear of setting fire to the world.

M. de Labourdonnaie revolted for the first time, in the name of the Charter so long disdained by him, but now venerated as a refuge, by those even who had blasphemed it. M. Royer-Collard ironically praised, with poignant satire, those pretended religious censors of the works of the Creator so eager to reform the work of God.

" In the ideas of these men," said he, " it was imprudent on the great day of creation to allow man, a free and intelligent being, to escape into the midst of the universe ! A more lofty wisdom is now about to repair this fault of Providence, and to render humanity, sagely mutilated, the service of elevating it at last to the happy innocence of the brute creation ! The author of all things formerly thought otherwise ; but he was wrong ! Truth is a good, say these men more provident than nature, but error is an evil. Perish, then, both truth and error ! As a prison is the natural remedy for liberty, ignorance will be the natural remedy for intelligence ; ignorance is the true science of man and of society !—Gentlemen, a law which thus denies the existence of mind is an atheistical law, and should not be

Royer-Collard's speech against the bill.

obeyed ! Alas ! we have passed through periods when the authority of the law, having been usurped by tyranny, evil was called good, and virtue crime. During this fearful test we did not seek for the rule of our actions in the law, but in our consciences : we obeyed God rather than men. Must we, under the legitimate government, be brought back to these deplorable recollections ? We shall still be the same men ! Your law, be it well understood, will be vain, for France is better than its government ! Counsellors of the crown, what have you done hitherto ? Who has raised you above your fellow citizens that you assume a right to impose a tyranny upon them ? Obscure and ordinary men like ourselves, you only surpass us in temerity ! Such senseless audacity can only be met with in factions. Your law, therefore, denounces a faction in the government with as much certainty as if this faction had denounced itself. I shall not ask it what it is, whence it comes, or whither it is going, for it would tell me falsehoods ! I judge this faction by its works ! It now proposes to you to destroy the liberty of the press ; last year it exhumed from the middle ages the right of primogeniture, and the year before it introduced sacrilege ! It is thus retrograding. It matters not to me whether it be called counter-revolution or otherwise ; it is going backwards in religion and policy ! It clings to fanaticism, to privilege, to ignorance, and to barbarism, or to the absurd domination which barbarism favours ! The enterprise, however, will not be so easy to accomplish. In future not another line is to be printed in France, with all my heart ; a brazen frontier shall preserve us from foreign contagion, well and good. But for a long time discussion has existed in the world between good and evil, between the true and the false. It fills innumerable volumes, which have been read over and over, day and night, by an inquisitive generation. Whole libraries of books have passed into the minds of men. It is from thence you must banish them : have you a law ready for that purpose ? So long as we shall not forget what we know, we shall be ill-disposed to brutishness and slavery. But the action of mind is not solely derived from books ; springing from freedom of condition, it exists in

The bill is carried in the Chamber of Deputies.

labour, in riches, and in leisure ; while it is nourished by the assemblages of towns and the facility of communication. To enslave men it is necessary to disperse and to impoverish them, for misery is the safeguard of ignorance. Believe me, reduce the population, discard the men of industry from the soil, burn the manufactories, fill up the canals, plough up the highways. If you do not effect all this you will have accomplished nothing ; if the plough does not pass entirely over civilization, that which remains will be sufficient to baffle your efforts.

I cannot support the amendments of the committee, or indeed any amendments. The law is neither worthy nor susceptible of any. There is no arrangement to be made with the principle of tyranny by which it was dictated. I reject it purely and simply out of respect for humanity which it degrades, and for justice by which it is outraged."

VII.

Since the days of Bossuet and Pascal, eloquence, whether argumentative or impassioned by contempt, had not so forcibly appealed to the conviction of men. M. Royer-Collard had avenged the human mind, and the human mind seemed to have endowed him with celestial disdain, to crush from a more lofty eminence the two factions of darkness which contested the right of tyrannising over intelligence. In a few days this speech constituted public opinion ; but there was already such a distance between the government and the country, that the Chamber, bound to the court and the clergy, passed by an immense majority what France unanimously repudiated, with Royer-Collard and Chateaubriand, as a criminal attempt against human reason.

VIII

The discussion of M. de Montlosier's petition against the encroachments of the sacerdotal party, took precedence in the Chamber of Peers of the law on the press. M. de Fitzjames, a familiar adherent of Charles X., whose aristocratical eloquence displayed in the tribune the light tone of the court,

Popular fermentation against the bill.

laughed at what he called the lunacy of the petitioner. After drawing a grotesque picture of M. de Montlosier, his fellow-emigrant in London; "Such," he cried disdainfully, "is the man who denounces missionaries and processions!" M. de Fitzjames supported the church party in the same spirit with which he might formerly have protected his curate against his vassals, without caring much for the mysteries of religion; a species of orthodoxy at once proud and sceptical, which no longer suited an age when faith, to be respected, ought to prompt the conscience and to influence the manners. M. d'Ambray avenged M. de Montlosier, and reminded the Chamber of the sublime phrase made use of by this orator in the Constituent Assembly, when defending at that period the endowment of the bishops: "It was a wooden cross which saved the world!"

The discussion of the law on the press was adjourned to another sitting; but public opinion was fermenting even to sedition amongst the youth and the populace. Everything gave rise to scandal and violence; the shadow cast by the coming tyranny created beforehand a revolt in every heart—the certain prelude to a revolt of arms.

The death of the Duke of Larochevoucauld Liancourt, another Malesherbes escaped from the revolutionary axe, but who had continued faithful at once to the creed of legitimate royalty and the principle of representative liberty, caused an explosion of the anger which was smouldering in people's minds. The Duke de Liancourt had exercised up to his eightieth year the credit of his good name, and of his prolonged existence, in the gratuitous patronage of all justly popular institutions. Being the founder of the school of arts and professions at Châlons-sur-Marne, the pupils of this establishment hastened to Paris to do honour to his funeral, and to carry his coffin themselves to the tomb of his ancestors. His cousin, the Duke de Larochevoucauld Doudeauville, a man of the same spirit, although more bound to the clergy and more connected with the new court, was minister of the King's household. He had authorised by his consent the presence at the funeral, and the filial piety of the young pupils of the school of Chalons. The

Fresh popularity of the King.

government which seemed to take offence even at the posthumous popularity of the Duke de Liancourt, opposed through its agents the carriage of the coffin on the shoulders of the youths. A tumult consequently broke out at the very door of the church, and the funeral procession was threatened by the bayonets of the soldiery. The coffin, contended for by one party, and dragged away by the other, fell between them into the mud of the street, and the indignant crowd cried out sacrilege! The funeral ceremony was concluded amidst the consternation of Paris. The Chamber of Peers appointed a committee of inquiry into these outrages at the tomb of one of its members; and the name of the Duke de Liancourt became one of the numerous elements of recrimination against the Court and the Church, which were accused of avenging upon the dead the liberal and philosophical popularity of a benefactor of the people. The Duke de Laroche foucauld Doudeauville, himself, prepared to quit the ministry out of respect for his name.

IX.

The King lamented this ebbing of the popular favour which had signalised the commencement of his reign, and which his fatal concessions to the ambitious party of the clergy alienated still further from his throne. The love of his people was dear to him, but everything breathed public hatred around him. Warned by the speech of M. Royer Collard, and anticipating those which were preparing by M. de Chateaubriand and his friends in the Chamber of Peers against the law on the press, he resolved to make a sacrifice of this odious law to popularity, and M. de Peyronnet withdrew it by his order from discussion. This acquiescence in public opinion was received with enthusiasm, and illuminations, in which sedition assumed the manifestations of joy, lit up the streets of the capital; while cries of "Long live the King! Long live the liberty of the press! Long live the peers!" resounded even under the windows of the Tuileries.

As the King was to review the National Guard on the following day, the anniversary of his entry into Paris, he antici-

He reviews the National Guards.

pated a splendid exhibition. Marshal Oudinot, commander-in-chief of the Paris militia, assured him of a triumphal reception in return for his concession to gratify public opinion. But the ministers, better informed of the hatred in which they were held, advised the King against this dangerous interview with his subjects. They dreaded some seditious manifestations ; and they entreated his Majesty at least to have the review at the gate of his palace under the protection of his guard, to quell every attempt at sedition by the imposing appearance of military force, and by the inviolability of the royal residence.

The King persisted, however, and left the palace on horseback, on Sunday, April 16th, 1827, accompanied by the Duke d'Angoulême, the Duke of Orleans, and an immense military escort. The princesses of his family followed in open carriages, while a fine springday seemed to call down the smiles of Heaven on this earthly festival. Thirty thousand men of the twelve legions of Paris, commanded by their citizen chiefs, awaited the King under arms in the Champ-de-Mars. This armed citizen class, more interested through its wealth, or its industry, in the stability of the government than the unsettled classes of the lower orders, trembled lest in shaking the throne it should arouse the ungovernable mass. It had, therefore, resolved in its preparatory meetings that morning and the evening before, to stifle in its ranks every political cry or murmur which might impair the rising harmony between the King and the nation, and serve as a pretext to some commotion fatal to government. The watchword prohibiting exclamations against the ministers and the clergy, and authorising only the cry of "*Vive le Roi !*" passed from battalion to battalion, and was ratified by tacit consent. Charles X. had now arrived, and rode up in front of the troops, with a serene look, a smile on his lips, and with a gesture of heart-felt pleasure ; but the general feeling of a crowd breaks forth in spite of the individual wishes of those who compose it. Peoples have a collective soul, independent of that which beats in every single breast. The general feeling of irritation which influenced the National Guard broke out first in the seventh legion, and then in all the others, with the cry of "*Vive la Charte !*" in which all

Their outcries for the charter.

public grievances seemed to be comprised. On the first exclamations of "*Vive la Charte!*" Charles X., who had himself sworn to preserve it, did not appear to be offended; but the repetition of the same cry substituted for that of "*Vive le Roi!*" at length disturbed the calmness of his countenance. "What!" exclaimed some National Guards near him, "is the charter then an insult?" "Gentlemen," said the King with a stern accent, "I have come here to receive homage and not lessons!" These words regained for his majesty the respect and enthusiasm of the legions; cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" spread through the ranks and restored calmness to his breast. Thirty thousand men marched past him, in front of the military school, all saluting him with the same acclamation; and on returning to the palace he felt convinced that this isolated offence of some National Guardsmen was nothing more than the powerless insolence of a sedition universally disapproved of. He rejoiced, in concert with Marshal Oudinot, at the successful termination of the review, and the return of his subjects to their duty; and he directed the marshal to issue an order of the day, expressive of the King's satisfaction with the militia of Paris

X.

But these attempts, though restrained for a while by the presence of the King in the Champ-de-Mars, broke out with greater virulence after his departure. Murmurs and clamours, and cries of "Down with the Ministers! Down with the Jesuits!" resounded on every side on the departure of the princesses, who were accused, and with reason, by the public, of greater complaisance for the clergy, and greater bitterness against the revolution. Neither respect for rank, for sex, or for misfortune, could repress in some of the legions, threatening allusions and vociferations towards the Duchess de Berry and the daughter of Louis XVI.; their object seemed to be to impress upon their hearts by terror, an image of public discontent and a souvenir of public warning. The legions were mingled in tumultuous confusion round their carriages, and the clang of their arms gave a still more sinister appearance to the accents

Popular insults to the ministers.

and disorders of sedition. The Duchess d'Angoulême, whose countenance was intrepid, though her heart was humbled, trembled with indignation, and carried back with her to the palace the memory and emotion of the revolutionary scenes of her infancy. After her departure, the seditious cries became more unanimous and more violent amongst the columns as they entered Paris under arms. When passing before the residence of M. de Villèle, they shook the Rue de Rivoli with their shouts. The court carriages, as they returned empty from the review, were hissed and hooted by the angry crowds, and in a few hours the whole capital had passed from the celebration of a *fête* to a scene of consternation. France had let slip the watchword, and this might turn out an advice or an insult, according as the King should understand and force his government to understand it. He himself had heard in the evening the renewed and prolonged clamours of his subjects, indicating the expulsion of his ministers from the council. "Villèle! still Villèle!" he exclaimed, as if annoyed at this unpopularity of his minister, and he threw his sword upon a chair, like one who wishes to cast away also the thought which besets him.

XI.

Although the insult at the review had been confined to some battalions of the National Guard, and that the great mass of the citizens was innocent of the disrespectful conduct of the smaller number, the resentment at these manifestations amongst the inmates of the Tuileries fell upon the whole body. An excess of anger, almost amounting to delirium, seized on the royal family, and communicated itself to the courtiers. The ladies above all were implacable; for accustomed as they were to adulation and worship, everything that broke through this prestige of respect with which they were environed, amounted in their eyes to sacrilege. Nothing ever passes so rapidly from terror to vengeance as the weakness of an insulted woman. During the remainder of the evening, every visitor to the Tuileries came laden with an anecdote, a fresh offence, or rather cause of indignation against the armed populace of

Irritated feelings at the Tuilleries.

Paris. It almost resembled the same city on the 20th June, 1791! The Duchess d'Angoulme, full of the memory of that fatal day, which had begun the humiliation and the executions of her family, conjured the King and the Duke her husband, to pardon none of these first emotions of the multitude, if they did not by their indecision wish to encourage further and final excesses. To insult the ministers, she said, was nothing less than to insult the King's judgment. To oblige him to dismiss his government by disrespectful clamours, was it not to reign instead of him? To yield to the insolence of armed citizens, was it not to abdicate to a mob? Where would these new Janissaries stop, proud of having once imposed their caprices on their master, and incapable of governing themselves otherwise than by their seditions?

XII.

Such were the dispositions of the court on the evening of the 20th April, when Marshal Oudinot arrived to submit to the King a draft of the order of the day, agreed upon some hours before, between him and his Majesty, to express to the National Guard a satisfaction changed to anger. Charles X., whose countenance had altered as well as his heart, listened with an air of distraction to the reading of this order of the day, took it from the marshal's hand, crumpled it between his fingers, and not having yet come to any resolution with his ministers, "That will do," he said to the marshal; "there is no hurry, I shall consider it."

The humbled and irritated ministers arrived to hold a council. The explosion of such an insult, directed less against the crown than against their system and persons; the public, and so to speak, the national indication of unpopularity, which was reflected even upon the throne; the shame and terror they had experienced in seeing the battalions march under the windows of their residences, brandishing their arms and railing at their names, all predisposed them to extreme measures. War was declared between them and public opinion, and they must either confess themselves conquered, or vanquish opinion them-

Arguments for disbanding the National Guards.

selves by an obstinacy which would involve the crown in their quarrel. The danger was imminent on both sides. To yield would be to humble royalty; but to resist would be to compromise it in an unequal struggle perhaps with the people. The deliberation before the King was long and undecided.

M. de Villèle and M. de Corbière did not hesitate to declare themselves for coercive measures, and advised the disbanding of the National Guard of Paris. They maintained that this armed capital was a just cause of disquiet to the crown. The National Guards were useful when the revolution threatened with mere civil disorders the homes of the citizens, who mutually protect each other against pillage, and they rendered assistance to new governments; but they never failed either to disband themselves in indolent indifference, or to embarrass the government by a popular army, devoid of discipline, responsibility, or obedience. An established government, they added, firm, and supported by a regular army, should be too happy when the first symptoms of sedition furnish it with the pretext or the necessity for dissolving these dangerous auxiliaries, who pretend to combine in themselves the liberty of the citizen and the arms of the soldier. Moreover, this National Guard, a fatal and unreasonable importation from America, thrown into revolt by M. de Lafayette, to whom it had given a dictatorship, sometimes agitative, sometimes repressive, but at all times superior to royalty, was it not the first act and the last vestige of a revolution which was not exhausted until it had extinguished the monarchy in blood, and repudiated and proscribed M. de Lafayette himself. After having given to itself for a chief, in M. de Lafayette, an aristocratical renegade, had it not also made chiefs, in the persons of Santerre and Hanriot, of plebeian rebels and demagogues of the Faubourgs? Had it not, with its general, dozed at Versailles during the massacres of October 1790? Had it not remained passive, or been an accomplice at Paris during the invasion of the Tuileries by the people on the 20th June. Had it not deserted on the 10th August before the bands which cannonaded the palace? Did it not hide itself on those dreadful days of September, while a handful of assassins sacrificed, at their leisure, thousands

Arguments against the disbanding.

of victims in the prisons of Paris? And finally, did it not witness unmoved around the scaffold, for fourteen months, the execution of the King, of the Queen, of the royal family, and of France, beheaded by a minority of demagogues? Of what use to a monarchy is such an institution which lends its strength to every faction, which authorises all seditions, and all the crimes of the people when it has not itself to accomplish them? Was not the day to be looked for when the monarchy, sustained by a paid, disciplined, and personal army, would at length deliver itself from that amphibious array of citizens who are seditious when not enslaved? And since this day had come of itself why allow it to pass in expectation of another, when the outrage instead of being, as at this review, a simple tumult, might be a revolution?

Three ministers alone, M. de Chabrol, M. de Frayssinous, and the Duke de Doudeauville, opposed these extreme opinions by others more moderate and forbearing. They represented that the National Guard of Paris and the Bourbons were connected with each other by numerous contracts since 1814. That the danger of arming the *élite* of the citizens was nothing in a form of government which supposed a parliamentary agreement between public opinion and the crown; a species of government in which, while defending the King, the National Guard at the same time defended the law. That this armed part of the population, proprietary, commercial, and industrial, was, by its property, its commerce, and its industry, the most interested in preserving all established governments, because, in defending the threatened political order, it preserved at the same time its homes and its traffic; and that, finally, even though this National Guard, sometimes embarrassing, more frequently useful, might be of little assistance in extreme danger, there would be an immense loss of consideration for the crown, were it in the face of France and of Europe to declare itself, by disbanding this force, in flagrant unpopularity and total incompatibility with the majority of its own capital; that the wisest and most just plan to pursue would be not to extend universally to all good citizens the penalty incurred by a small number of agitators. but to palliate the fault,

The King decides on disbanding them.

to dissemble the insult, to temporise with public opinion, as prompt in repenting as it was easy to excite, to act rigorously for example sake against one or two battalions which had been most prominent in the tumult, and to cast over all the rest the mantle of oblivion and the amnesty of the crown.

XIII.

The King would have been easily won over by these arguments if he had not been ashamed of forfeiting the estimation of the Duchess d'Angoulême and the Duchess de Berry by appearing to feel their insults less than they did themselves, and drawing upon himself in his own family those reproaches of weakness and concession which he had himself so often, and so unjustly, levelled against the memory of Louis XVI., and against the reign of his second brother, Louis XVIII.; but supported in his inflexibility by M. de Villèle, M. de Corbière, M. de Damas, M. de Clermont Tonnere, and M. de Peyronnet, he declared in favour of the most irrevocable measure, that of the disbanding.

The Duke de Doudeauville felt it his duty, by retiring from the ministry, to relieve himself from the responsibility of an act of which he foresaw the dangers. The King was irritated at a resignation tendered at the moment he was engaged in a struggle with public opinion.

The night was employed by the ministers and by Marshal Oudinot in preventing, by an adequate distribution of troops, the danger of any commotion which might arise in Paris, on learning its disarmament.

But Paris received this news with all the indifference of inherent power. The court mistook this disdain for terror, and applauded itself for its temerity. "You see," said the Duke de Rivière, "that the King can do everything!" This phrase, which was incessantly repeated to Charles X., made him take the slumber of public opinion for the submission of the people; and from that day he contemplated still further daring. He felt that M. de Villèle's popularity in Paris had been exhausted in his service, and he thought of recalling from London, where

Consequent agitation in the Chamber.

he was ambassador, the Prince de Polignac, the real favourite of his heart, and the sheet anchor of his conscience and his policy. But M. de Villèle foreseeing in his successor the man of desperate extremes kept him back as much from patriotism as ambition.

The dissolution of the National Guard of Paris, produced such a reaction in the Chamber and in the press, that the minister felt his majority sinking from under him.

"Where are we to look for the support of the government?" demanded Benjamin Constant from the tribune. "In the population of Paris? It has been insulted! In public opinion? 'Tis in a state of revolt! In the peerage? The government can only rule it by debasing it with a fresh infusion of unsuitable members! In the magistracy? That resists the government in the name of justice!"

"Such a system," exclaimed a member of the centre, "must have an end, for corruption is an inevitable principle of decomposition in the moral as well as the physical order of things!"

"Ministers of the King," said a member of the right, "there remains for you one more great service to render to the throne and the country; an immense service, and the only one that can repair the evil you have done, which is to retire! You are dismissed by the country! All its powers repudiate you, even the cry of '*Vive le Roi*' is an accusation against you, for you have stifled it on the lips of the National Guard of Paris!" "The public indignation is unanimous!" exclaimed General Sebastiani, a member of the left.

The minister saw nothing before him but enemies. France was in expectation, and the King was fluctuating under his undecided thoughts. M. de Villèle thought of sacrificing some of the most unpopular of his colleagues, M. de Peyronnet, M. de Corbière, and M. de Damas, to conciliate the Chamber and retain power a few months longer. But was he not a sharer in all the faults of his colleagues? The sacerdotal party had entangled him in its snares, the court party had made him disband the National Guard; and he had forced too many concessions from the Chamber not to make it repent of the ex-

sive complaisance it had shown him; everything condemned him, and perhaps he condemned himself; but in the career upon which he had entered, there was no advancing and no retreating. He believed in the power of obstinacy, and he fixed on dissolving the Chamber of Deputies.

XIV

While waiting for the closing of the session and the passing of the budget, which would give him time to prepare future elections, the minister proposed to gratify public opinion on questions of foreign policy, in which the generous instinct of French humanity and sympathy was deeply interested. He first signed a treaty with England for the suppression of the slave trade, a shameful species of commerce which continued to dishonour civilisation (in France) up to 1848, when slavery was finally abolished by the republic. He also signed with England and Russia a convention relative to Greece, by which the three courts assumed the protection of that country, which was to continue nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey, but should govern itself independently, and only pay an annual subsidy to the Porte. This convention, which was considered at Constantinople as an unwarrantable intervention in the secular sovereignty of the Sultan, was followed, on the 6th July, by another diplomatic act, by which the three protecting powers of the Greek revolution threatened the Porte with a direct and armed alliance with Greece, if the Ottoman government persisted in declining their conciliating intervention.

By this act a new power in Europe was called into existence, the whole bearing of which was not yet fully understood by any of the intervening parties. It opened the Mediterranean, and gave up Asia Minor to the successors of Peter the Great. Being signed by England to please Russia, by Russia to monopolise European and Asiatic popularity amongst the Christians of the East, and by France with her eyes shut to gratify a generous feeling of public compassion, it separated in Greece two incompatible races, enraged to madness against each other

Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies.

but it created in future for Europe a policy of distrust, of watchfulness, and of extreme danger at Constantinople.

The Chamber of Deputies had some anticipation of its approaching dissolution; and the different parties prepared by desperate coalitions to struggle against death. M de Lezardiére, a royalist member of influential eloquence, of upright character, and rationally attached to the monarchy, attempted to enlighten the crown on the dangers it was about to brave in defence of its ministers.

"A general uneasiness," he said at the last sitting of the session, "hangs over the country; a fresh nomination of French peers is anticipated, to modify the majority in that assembly; and even the dissolution of this Chamber is spoken of; violent measures are talked about, and the general anxiety is at its height." He then called on the minister for explanations calculated to dissipate these suspicions. "We are about to separate in the midst of general disquietude," exclaimed M. Hyde de Neuville, a man impassioned in his love for the monarchy to such a degree as unintentionally to further the animosity of the enemies of the throne against the ministers "What shall we say to our constituents?" demanded M. de Labourdonnaie with gloomy vehemence. Harsh questions were exchanged amidst the tumult between these gentlemen and M de Peyronnet; and it was loudly demanded that the minister should be called to order by the Chamber. "It is he who has questioned me that ought to be called to order," proudly replied M. de Peyronnet. "It is M. de Labourdonnaie, whom I am never in the habit of addressing, except in reply!"

On the following day, without condescending to any further discussion with the public, the royal prerogative, changed by ministers into insult, was exercised without any preamble, and declared itself incompatible with the elective representation of the country, as it had declared itself incompatible with the National Guard of Paris, dissolved the Chamber, and prepared to wrench from the nation, by dint of influence, or administrative coercion, some unknown complaisant and slavish representation, more popular than the people, and more monarchical than the Chamber of 1815! The delirium which had seized

Death and character of Manuel.

upon the King had communicated itself to M de Villèle. A government which seeks for impossibilities is sure to meet with a nullity. All France, with the exception of the court and church parties, seemed to anticipate the greatest calamities.

XV

At this period Manuel, who was a victim to the anger of the royalists and the forgetfulness of the liberals, died in obscurity and indigence at the Chateau of Maison, belonging to M. Laffitte, of whom he was the friend and guest. The revolutionary party did not exhibit less ingratitude towards this orator than the monarchical party. He had no one to console him but Béranger, whose heart, devoid of envy and ambition, loved in Manuel the antique stamp of the premature, but intrepid, moderate, and upright republican. Manuel was more remarkable for character than eloquence; he preferred action to speech, and was better adapted for office than parliamentary debate. Béranger said of him :—

“ I have never known but one man from whom I should feel it impossible to separate if he had attained power. With his unshaken good sense, the more capable he was of giving good counsel, the more his modesty led him to seek for men of whose reason he approved. When his resolutions were once taken, he carried them through with firmness and without boasting; and if they were inspired by another, which but rarely happened, he did not fail to give him all the honour. Such was Manuel, to whom his country still owes a tomb. I would have followed him blindfold through every path it had been necessary for him to take, certain of returning soon to the modest asylum which we shall share together. Though a patriot above all he had retired into private life without ill humour, without mental reservation, without slandering any one, and without despairing of the country. Though solely occupied with the happiness of France, if that happiness had been accomplished by any other than himself his joy would not have been the less. I have never met a man less ambitious even of fame. The simplicity of his manners made him

The King visits the camp at St. Omer.

love a country life. The most gentle affections were united in his heart with the most elevated sentiments.

“Political friends never sufficiently appreciated his worth ; but whenever any embarrassment occurred, or danger threatened, every one hastened to have recourse to his imperturbable reason and his unshaken courage. His talent in this respect resembled their friendship that it was in critical moments he had the greatest plenitude of it, and that many of those makers of phrases that are called orators, bowed their heads before him.

This judgment, of one who was so capable of appreciating his fellow men, constitutes the noblest epitaph for Manuel. Though it might be liable to challenge if it had been written in the heat of the struggle against the Bourbons by the party poet, it becomes an irrefragable testimony when written by Béranger, cooled down and matured by years, pronouncing his sentence with the impartiality of age, and with the high sagacity of one of the most enlightened thinkers of his day.

Manuel was only fifty-two years old, the age of politicians. His funeral, like that of Foy and the Duke de Liancourt, was a muster of liberal and revolutionary opinions. The struggle between the government and the opposition was becoming so animated and so impassioned that each distinguished tomb became, as it were, a field of battle between the parties.

XVI.

The King, as if to console himself for the coldness or the insults of his capital, went, accompanied by his ministers, to visit his camps at St. Omer. The acclamations of the army avenged him for the murmurings of Paris, and he subsequently continued his journey to the fortified places in the departments of the North, where the royalist and military spirit of the populace hailed his appearance with homage and enthusiasm. A political object was ascribed to this journey ; and it was reported that the King was thus proclaiming from amidst his camps a species of dictatorship through which he claimed, in lieu of popularity, those concessions from representative liberty which the Paris opposition made so bitter to him.

Creation of seventy-six new peers.

The ministry, as if it had derived fresh boldness from the applause of the army and the provinces, nominated seventy-six new peers to the upper Chamber, a *coup d'état*, in their opinion, calculated to repair that of the 6th September by M. Decazes, who had liberalized the peerage, and swarmed it with marshals, generals, and administrators of the Empire, while M. de Villèle, by this new emission of the royal prerogative, swamped it with bishops, emigrants, and avowed chiefs of the sacerdotal party, such as M. de Rougé and M. de Sesmaisons; but in seeking to strengthen it thus as regarded the Church, he made it unpopular as regarded the crown. The resistance made by the Chamber of Peers, to some retrograde measures of the government, such as the laws on the right of primogeniture, on sacrilege, on the forced conversion of stock, and on the press, had given great moral authority to this political body in public opinion; but in depriving it of its independence M. de Villèle had also deprived it of its credit. Every government that forces the springs of its constitution must break them. The peerage, which might have been a support to the throne in 1830, was no longer anything but a ministerial decoration, dragged into unpopularity and involved in the fall of the monarchy.

The elections, so boldly faced by M. de Villèle, were fixed for the 17th November, for the district electoral colleges, and the 24th November for those of the departments. The 5th February 1828, was the day fixed for the opening of the Legislative Chamber. The censorship which had been re-established after the commotion at the review of the National Guard, was withdrawn as a signal of security to the country, and to leave to public opinion the appearance of a free exercise of representative sovereignty.

XVII.

These were elections of anger and vengeance, in which the violence of public resentment stifled all prudence and moderation in the electoral colleges. The most ultra-royalists of the Chamber made common cause with revolutionists the most implacable

Coalition of parties against ministers.

against the house of Bourbon, to overturn the ministry by their united efforts. The only pledge required from their candidates by these two parties, so madly joined together, was one common hostility to M. de Villèle. Journals of the most opposite politics, such as the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Journal des Débats*, lent their aid to the candidates, and swore to support their natural enemies, provided those candidates became still more inimical to the government. The liberals enthusiastically recommended to the electoral committees of the departments the ultra-royalists the new allies of their hatred, such as MM. Hyde de Neuville, Labourdonnaie, De Lalot, Lézardière, Duvergier de Hauranne, De Cordoue and Cambon. The royalists, on their side, openly patronised those names they had abused for fifteen years past, as symbols of the revolution, of Bonapartism, or of the republic, Lafayette, Dupont (de l'Eure) Benjamin Constant, Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Gérard, and Labbey de Pompières; candidateship became a mixture of all conflicting opinions, for which the only profession of faith required by the blended parties was one of enmity against a repudiated government.

Both parties, however, were not long in expiating the immorality of this unnatural coalition; the liberals being punished for it by the Polignac, or *coup d'état* ministry, and the royalists by a revolution; but parties have no other prudence than factious gratification, and no other moral principle than their passions. Peoples, like kings, have their moments of delirium, in which every ray of conscience is obscured by the bubbling of their anger. France, undecided and astonished at this concert of journals and oppositions, seemed to have made peace for some days with herself, in order to send from all parts enemies against the ministry, without once asking if they were not also enemies to the monarchy. This was the error of the royalists, the cunning of the liberals, and the heedlessness of the people. But the precipitate conduct of the ministry, which had hoped to surprise the opposition unprovided with candidates, did not give the country time to reflect. All voted with enthusiasm against a ministry which had irritated one party and worn out the other

Sanguinary scenes in Paris.

On the first ballot Paris nominated the eight opposition candidates; and the intoxication of this triumph exhibited itself amongst the people on the same evening in a tumultuous ovation, in seditious cries, and insults to all who did not illuminate their houses for the public joy. Cries of "Long live the Emperor! Long live the opposition! Lamps in your windows!" detonations of powder bursting forth in the streets, at the doors, under the carriages of the princes, or thrown by the populace at the gendarmerie and the police, with barricades on the Boulevards, all those preludes, in short, of revolution, occasioned charges of cavalry and volleys of musketry against the people.

These sanguinary scenes of disorder and suppression, though subsiding in the daytime, were renewed in greater number and with greater rage the following night. The populace of the Faubourgs streamed into the city through Porte St. Denis and Porte St. Martin, with cries of "Lamps! lamps!" The shops were all closed on their route, the windows were illuminated at their threats, barricades rose from the streets as high as the first floors of the houses, and the homes of the citizens were invaded by the conquerors of these popular fortifications. M. de Fitzjames, colonel of the 18th regiment of the line, returned the firing of the populace, and blood flowed without distinction from the merely curious as well as from the guilty; the foot of the barricades was strewn with the dead bodies of citizens, the most populous quarters of Paris resounded with the volleys of the troops, the public mind was overcast, and the ministers were reproached with having themselves fomented these factious disturbances, to alarm the departments as to the triumphs of the opposition in the capital, and to seek for a base popularity by the shedding of blood. These calumnies, which were uttered by all parties, imposed on the credulity of the people, and revived in the departments, instead of soothing, the hatred against ministers.

The aristocratic electoral colleges of the departments, upon which the King reckoned for a majority in favour of his policy, yielded almost everywhere to the royalist and revolutionary coalition; though on seeing amongst the candidates put in

Retirement of M. de Villèle.

nomination for departments such monarchical names as those of Hyde de Neuville, Agier, Lalot, and Bertin, ministers thought that they must necessarily be all friends of the crown.

The names of the deputies elected under the influence of this coalition disappointed all the hopes of the ministry, astonished the opposition itself at the immensity of its victory, dismayed the King, and left nothing to M. de Villèle but a choice between retirement and a *coup d'état*; but the latter alternative was repugnant to the prudence and the foresight of the minister. He had strained by fatal compliances the springs of the government of opinion, but he had not in his disposition either fanaticism or temerity enough to risk the crown for the sake of popularity amongst the clergy and the ultra-royalists.

He attempted some arrangement with the party of MM. de Labourdonnaie and Hyde de Neuville, and was answered by threats of accusation. He received some propositions of alliance with the chiefs of the liberal party, which would have prolonged his reign but ruined his character. These negotiations, without any possible result, had at bottom no other object than to give the King time to form a cabinet of compromises, which would preserve the dignity and independence of the crown, without confessing a humiliating defeat in the face of the Chamber, of the country, or of Europe. He retired at length amidst the cheering of both liberals and royalists.

The first of these could not pardon him, and with reason, for his needless concessions, without limit, and even without the excuse of fanaticism, to the sacerdotal party, whose favour bound to him the conscience of the King and the complicity of the congregation; his subordination to that dominating sect avowed by the presence of M. de Renneville at the head of his cabinet; his laws against the press which conferred upon the clergy the preliminary censorship of the human mind; his law of sacrilege restoring under another name the religious burnings of the inquisition; the second censorship of the journals brutally gagging public opinion under a government of opinion; the law on the right of primogeniture, persecuting equality even on the family hearth and in the hearts of fathers and sons; his dis-

Review of the Villèle administration.

banding of the National Guard, thus humbling and disarming the capital by the hands of its King, to punish a clamour against a monkish order, and to avenge the unpopularity of a minister; and finally, the dissolution of the Chamber, which was an idle appeal to France against the independence of its representatives.

The royalists, still more implacable in their hatred against M. de Villèle, hastened to forget, like all victorious parties, the immense services which this orator, party chief and minister, had rendered them. The skilful discussion of public affairs in the tribune, the moderation inspired by his reason and his prudence in the private councils of party; the patience of his legitimate ambition during the early years of his credit with the Chamber; the support generously afforded by his eloquence and his votes to the government of Louis XVIII.; his disinterested services without a department in the Richelieu ministry; his zeal in the difficult task of preserving the harmony essential between the ultra-royalists of the Chamber and the King's government compelled to refuse itself to their passions; the reconciliation of Louis XVIII and the Count d'Artois, of which he constituted himself the negociator and the personification during the latter years of the preceding reign; the transition from one reign to the other happily accomplished under his auspices; the charter ratified, sworn to, and up to that period maintained by Charles X.; the finances and public credit raised to the most prosperous condition; the confidence inspired by the minister in capitalists, in the bank, and in public industry; a bold and politic war accomplished in Spain, to the glory of France and the advantage of the crown; a naval intervention in Greece prepared in accordance with the other Christian powers; a descent on Africa suspended, but premeditated and prepared, to avenge the honour of the French name, and to repeat, after an interval of two thousand years, the war of Pompey and Cæsar against the pirates of the Mediterranean; finally, the indemnity to the emigrants, that consolidation of fortunes, patiently concocted, boldly attempted, and happily accomplished in five years' administration. These are things which the passion of the royalist party hastened to forget,

Armed convention in favour of Greece.

being more prone to human ingratitude than to humble thankfulness. But this is what posterity will never forget; M. de Villèle, it will say, was not a statesman, but he was a man calculated for government, and more than that—he was an honest man. As the minister of Louis XVIII. he would have saved the Restoration; but as the minister of Charles X., he could only retard its fall; his error was that he did not retire before the law of sacrilege, and the law on the right of primogeniture, of which he did not approve, though he conceded them to the court and the clergy to save at least the charter. He fell a victim at the same time to the priesthood which he had served too much, to the royalists whom he had restrained, and to the press which he had irritated. M. de Chateaubriand, M. de Labourdonnaie, M. Hyde de Neuville, M. de Lafayette, M. Sebastiani, and M. Casimir Perier rejoiced in the blind confusion of party at his fall; but they were not long in expiating the folly of their joy; they were about to tear each other upon his ruin, for they had now no one to separate them.

XVIII.

The news of the battle of Navarino burst forth in the midst of this conflagration of parties, and on the eve of M. de Villèle's retirement, as if to illumine his decline with one last ray of good fortune. Public opinion, however, ascribed more the glory of this event to itself than to the minister. It was, in fact, the influence of public opinion which caused the destructive cannonading in Navarino Bay without orders and without pretext; and history must at length admit, since it is the conscience of nations without probity, that the European admirals who commanded the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia, assumed to themselves the glory of this untoward event, and it is but justice to leave it to their memory. The following are the facts.

We have seen that by a convention between the three powers, Russia, France, and England had assumed an armed arbitration between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. At this period Greece, after having destroyed in succession the

The combined fleets approach the Turks.

Turkish armies which had been sent by the Sultan Mahmoud to reduce it to obedience, was sinking at length under the Egyptian armies, summoned to the aid of Islamism, and commanded by Ibrahim Pacha, the vassal of the Sultan, and son of Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt. Ibrahim having reconquered the Morea with his troops, and being master of the sea by means of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets assembled in the Bay of Navarino, was patiently awaiting the result of the negotiations between the allied powers and the Sultan, prepared to execute the conditions of the treaty which might intervene, and to evacuate or retain possession of Greece. An armistice of one month had been concluded between the belligerent parties to give time to negotiations, which was to expire on the 20th October. No declaration of war had been proclaimed against the Porte; but, on the contrary, a tacit peace existed, *de facto* and *de jure*, between the Christian powers and the commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces. The three admirals, Count Heyden commanding the Russian squadron, Codrington, the English, and De Rigny, the French, were cruising off the coast of the Morea, as mediators and not as enemies, and maintaining a daily communication with Ibrahim. They merely required of him temporising measures and a cessation of hostilities against the Greeks, in the cause of humanity, the propriety of which Ibrahim himself felt and acquiesced in, while waiting the result of the negotiation then pending at Constantinople

XIX.

During this species of tacit truce, the combined Egyptian and Ottoman fleets were at anchor, ranged in three lines in the form of a crescent, and protected by the forts of Navarino. They consisted of ninety vessels, of which four were line of battle ships, sixteen frigates, and thirty sloops of war, the immense naval armament of the entire Levant. They were commanded by Tahyr Pacha, and had on board sixteen thousand Turkish and Egyptian troops. Though imposing in appearance, this fleet appeared full of confidence and security, neither Turkey nor Egypt being at war with any of the naval powers, of

Expiration of the period of truce.

Europe, and it occupied only one side of the Bay of Navarino, as if to leave room for the fleets of the allied powers in a neutral sea. The whole naval force of Turkey and Egypt was thus collected by its fatal confidence into one funeral pile, as it were, to be ignited and consumed at one blow by the fire of Europe. It was not prepared for any act of hostility, and even the commander-in-chief, Ibrahim, whether confiding in the rights of nations, or unable to reply on his own authority, to the impatient requirements of the admirals, had left his headquarters at Navarino for a few days, to visit his army in the Peloponnesus. The first truce exacted from the Porte by the allied powers was to expire on the 20th October 1827; but other truces, rendered necessary by the distance, and by the slowness of so difficult a mediation, had been admitted in fact, therefore there could be no motive for a sudden and unforeseen aggression on the part of the European admirals, before a formal and preliminary declaration of hostilities.

Their three squadrons having entered the bay, had come to anchor, with the most pacific appearance, alongside the Turkish vessels, the principal officers of which were on shore in perfect security.* The laws of peace and war, neutrality, fair dealing, and humanity, all required from the commandants of these three squadrons an imposing attitude, it is true, in conformity with the intentions of their respective nations; but also an inoffensive one towards a still friendly fleet. Such were the written instructions of the three admirals; but impelled by the breath of that popular ardour which inflamed at that moment the spirit of religion, of liberty, and of humanity in favour of Greece, and impatient to signalise themselves at all risks by the semblance of an exploit at the head of the naval forces of

* This is an error. The combined fleets were lying to at the entrance of the bay on the 20th October, 1827, the day on which the truce expired; when the *Dartmouth* frigate, Captain Sir Thomas Fellowes, was sent in by Sir Edward Codrington to make some communication, but was fired on by one of the Turkish vessels, probably mistaking its approach for an act of hostility. Sir Thomas Fellowes immediately returned the fire, and the combined fleets making sail into the bay the action unavoidably commenced.—TRANSLATOR.

The battle of Navarino.

Christendom, these admirals no longer took instructions from any one but themselves. They depended on public favour to justify to their governments and to Europe an effusion of blood, the fault of which would be easily counterbalanced in public opinion by a popular victory. The verbal, or tacit instructions received by these admirals on their departure from the fanatics of the Grecian cause at London, at St. Petersburg, and at Paris, gave them a latitude and an encouragement to dare everything even beyond their written orders.

Public spirit outran the intentions of the governments. The allied powers had formally interdicted the commandants of their squadrons from every act of aggression; but the Duke of Clarence, subsequently William IV., who was then Lord High Admiral of England, in presenting Admiral Codrington with the orders of the Admiralty, said to him with an emphatic military gesture: "Go and attack them!"* Russia was too much interested in seeking popularity, by a brilliant intervention, amongst six millions of fellow Christians of its own Greek church in Europe and in Asia, to make a show of further scruples. France, still more interested than the other two powers in not destroying in the Mediterranean the naval force of a friendly nation, the only counterpoise to the fleets of England or of Russia in the East, had confided its squadron to a young and ambitious officer of reputation, delighted at so rare an opportunity of distinguishing his name and his flag, in a cause which insured beforehand a pardon for every excess of courage.

XX.

A cannon shot fired by chance or premeditation, from some vessel or other, amidst this confusion of five squadrons in the same harbour, afforded a pretext or a signal for the engagement. The English admiral, who commanded the whole as senior officer, being sure of the concurrence of his two colleagues, poured the first broadside into the Ottoman fleet; while

* Our readers will recollect the laconic expression: "Go it, Ned!" ascribed to His Royal Highness on this occasion.—TRANSLATOR.

Destruction of the Turkish fleet.

Admiral de Rigny and Admiral Heyden opened their fire upon the vessels still silent which were nearest them. A continuous cannonade from the broadsides of the three squadrons, crushed and demolished the Turkish vessels one after another. Motionless at anchor, crowded together, and communicating to each other the flames which devoured them, the Turks and Egyptians returned the fire of the Christians with all the intrepidity of fatalism. Their batteries, extinguished by the waves amidst which they were sinking, maintained the fire, however, as long as they could get a gun to bear on the enemy; their vessels scattered in the air by the explosion of their magazines, covered the sky with smoke, and the waves with their fragments; the rigging being cut by the bullets, or destroyed by the flames, the burning hulls of their vessels drifted upon the rocks. In two hours' carnage eight thousand of their sailors strewed the decks or the waves with their dead and dying bodies, while scarcely a few hundred men wounded on board the European squadrons by the batteries on shore, attested the ineffectual efforts of the surprised and slaughtered Ottomans. When the smoke had dissipated, nothing was visible of the ninety vessels which had constituted the Turkish armament a few short hours before, but the shattered and burning fragments, thrown by the waves as an expiation at the foot of the cliffs of new-born Greece.

Such was, not the victory, but the execution of Navarino. It was imparted to Asia by a cry of horror, while a shout of deliverance hailed it in Greece, and acclamations of enthusiasm applauded it in Europe. When the delirium of joy had cooled down, however, Europe hesitated as to the name it should give to this conflagration of two friendly fleets; for though it seemed heroic to some, it was looked upon as incendiarism by others. It was finally hushed up, lest, by scrutinising the matter too closely, some iniquitous mystery might be found at the bottom.

It is said that Admiral de Rigny, though at first intoxicated with the popularity which the cause of Greece threw on his participation in this naval destruction of Navarino, ultimately reproached himself with a glory which was not fully justified by his conscience; and that his scruples on the subject rendered his life unhappy and hastened his premature death.

French triumph at the victory.

But France, the moment the news became known, saw nothing in it but a triumph for religion, for liberty, and for the national honour ; and if anything could restore to the King and to M. de Villèle the popularity they had lost, they would have found it in the battle of Navarino, as they had already hoped to regain it at Algiers ; but popularity is a fugitive good, while its opposite is implacable Charles X equally experienced this at Algiers and Navarino

BOOK FORTY-SEVENTH.

Administration of M. de Martignac—The department of Public Instruction is offered to M. de Chateaubriand, and refused by him—It is accepted by M. de Vatimesnil—M. Royer Collard is nominated President of the Chamber of Deputies—Speech from the throne; the address of the Deputies—Reply of Charles X.—M. Hyde de Neuville is appointed to the Admiralty, M. Feutrier minister of public worship, and M. de Chateaubriand ambassador to Rome—The *Journal des Débats*—Law on elections and on the press—Order in Council against the Jesuits—Effect of these measures—The *Gazette de France*—M. de Genoude; his Portrait—End of the Session—Journey of Charles X. into Alsace—Opening of the Session of 1829—Prince de Polignac's profession of faith to the Chamber of Peers—Introduction of municipal and departmental bills; discussion on them—Withdrawal of these laws—Fall of the Martignac ministry—Administration of Prince de Polignac—Composition of the new ministry—Portrait of M. de Polignac—M. de Labourdonnaie—M. de Bourmont—MM. de Montbel, Courvoisier, De Chabrol, and d'Haussez—Lafayette at Lyons—Retirement of M. de Labourdonnaie—M. Guernon de Ranville—MM. Guizot and Berryer are elected to the Chamber—Opening of the session of 1830—Speech from the throne—Address of the 221—Real intentions of M. de Polignac—Interview of the author of this history with Charles X.—The King's reply to the address—Prorogation of the Chambers.

I.

In retiring from the ministry M. de Villèle did not wish to involve the monarchy in his fall. Though an unpopular minister he was a man of integrity, and loved his country, the monarchy, and the King. He did not dissemble any of the dangers which his removal from public affairs would create for Charles X. These dangers did not arise merely from his enemies; they were especially to be apprehended from his friends. He sincerely assisted the King in the formation of a ministry capable of replacing him in the Chambers, in which there were in appearance only two: a ministry of the left, or one of the extreme right. These two factions which had

M. de Villèle tries to form a new ministry.

coalesced for the elections, comprised in themselves the majority of the Chamber. If M. de Villèle had only thought of making himself regretted, he would have recommended to the King one of these absolute parties; for a ministry of the left, by throwing the royalists and the centres into a state of alarm, would have speedily deranged the assembly, and revived the death struggle of 1815. A ministry of the extreme right, antagonistic to public opinion, would also have greatly alienated and frightened the centres, and thrown the crown into irreparable unpopularity. After the experience of one or other of these, M. de Villèle, regretted and declared to be indispensable, must return victorious over the King and over his enemies; but he was not one of those men who seek their own advancement in the ruin of their parties, and who declare their enmity from the very day they are no longer considered necessary.

Other considerations occupied the council in its last sitting. Charles X. having departed for Compiègne, where he relaxed himself with the chase after the cares of the throne, had confided to M. de Villèle the care of preparing for him a ministry against his return. "I wish," said the King, "to announce this council to the Chambers on the 1st of January!" This was said with an understanding on the part of the King that M. de Villèle himself would still be the chief of this new cabinet; but the more clear-sighted minister felt that this would be impossible. He negotiated actively, however, during the King's absence, and arranged the appointment of some men of moderate opinions, such as M. Portalis, M. de Martignac, M. de Roy, and M. de Saint Cricq, whose politics up to that period had not been too repulsive either to the right, to the left, or to the court; but when Charles X. returned from Compiègne, no combination had as yet been effected. M. de Villèle having demanded more time, the King consulted M. de Chabrol, who possessed his confidence in a high degree. This gentleman indicated some of the most distinguished names for a cabinet of the extreme right, M. de Chateaubriand, M. de Labourdonnaie, M. de Fitzjames, and M. de Laferronnays. It is probable that a ministry of such ultra-politics was proposed by M. de Chabrol, in concert with M. de Villèle, rather to test

The Martignac administration.

the sentiments of the King than to induce him to favour such a choice. The King took offence only at the name of M. de Chateaubriand, who had distinguished the coalition by his genius and boldness as a writer. He was also repugnant to that of M. de Laferronnays, who had been the companion in childhood of the Duke de Berry, but who, in a moment of just anger, had applied to this prince the language of an offended gentleman instead of that of an obsequious courtier. He treated lightly the consistency and political capacity of M. de Fitzjames; and he represented that M. de Labourdonnaie, a violent and aggressive character, who for five years had evinced great bitterness against M. de Villèle, would be incompatible with the numerous friends whom that minister still possessed in the Chamber. Of all these candidates, proposed with sincerity or under pretence, one alone was approved of, in case the Duke d'Angoulême would consent to accept him as minister of foreign affairs; this was M. de Laferronnays.

M. Lainé was sounded; but weary of affairs which no longer had charms for him when unaccompanied by great dangers, he had withdrawn from public life in philosophical indifference. He refused the department of justice; but he proposed M. de Martignac, his countryman, his emulator, and his friend. This gentleman being agreeable to the Duke d'Angoulême was accepted. M. Roy took the finance department again; M. Portalis that of justice; M. de Caux, a consummate minister, the war-office; M. de Frayssinous, public instruction; M. de Chabrol, the admiralty; M. de Belleyne, a young magistrate, studious, active, moderate, and trustworthy, was appointed *préfet* of police in place of M. de Lavau, who was suspected of too exclusive a devotion to the religious party. M. de Saint-Cricq was placed at the head of commerce. Neither of the ministers was to preside in the council, because none of them possessed authority sufficiently established in public opinion to give nominal distinction to any line of policy. Charles X., who had long thought of giving this post to the Prince de Polignac, had thus left the council without a head, in the secret hope of inviting to its acceptance this favourite of his heart and of his conscience.

II.

The ministry thus composed, evidenced in M. de Villèle a solicitude for public opinion, and a consideration for the monarchy, which survived his power. It also indicated in the King himself a spirit of discretion and of moderation which did not refuse to bend before the symptoms and demonstrations of public spirit. The intention of these appointments was evident; they all had a tendency to soothe the irritation which the long provocations of the absolutist party, too much yielded to by M. de Villèle and M. de Peyronnet, had excited in the country. It was a cabinet of conciliation, by which royalty made the first step towards concord.

M. de Martignac, a new man, initiated in state affairs by M. de Richelieu, was the friend of M. Lainé, whose amity was of itself a pledge. He was eloquent and graceful, with a character and exterior equally agreeable, and even seductive to all persons of good faith, by the probity and candour of his disposition. Being still young, he escaped all resentment and recrimination for the past. He was impartial from temperament as well as youth, as much, at least, as could be expected in times of party spirit, and sincerely devoted to the idea most prevalent at the moment, that of naturalising representative monarchy in France, by removing prejudice and dislike from the minds of both royalists and liberals; he was, therefore, the best chosen minister to offer to both parties a treaty of peace, through which the King might regain the love of his people, and the people a security for freedom.

None of his colleagues clashed by their previous careers with this general spirit of the times; M. de Caux was an upright and an able patriot, who brought to the war department claims to esteem universally recognised, and who had not sufficient military fame to give umbrage to the Duke d'Angoulême, who was jealous of his ascendancy over the army. M. Roy, who was more a conservative than a royalist, and more a financier than a politician, was not bigotted to any government; but having by his immense fortune a well-defined interest in

And of the other ministers.

the stability of all, he thus possessed the confidence of the country, of the landed property, of the banking and commercial classes, of the national industry and of the aristocrats of the Exchange—the Laffittes and Périers—whose popularity, it is true, was of a revolutionary character, but whose wealth was conservative. M. de Saint Cricq was a modern economist of the first order, capable of giving a bold impetus to the freedom of commerce, and to introduce into the customs and prohibitory laws such reformatations as were called for by the true interests of the people and the public revenue. M. Portalis, whose persevering complaisance towards all regimes, and unchangeable fidelity to the good fortune of governments, were at this epoch still unknown, bore an illustrious name in revolutionary legislation, and offered in his own person a pledge to the King's piety, by the disgrace he had incurred in his youth in serving the religious orthodoxy of the sovereign pontiff against the enterprises of the Emperor. M. de Chabrol, rather a minister than a statesman, associated by his previous career with the imperial government, and by his political sentiments with the Restoration, was one of those men of a double nature of which each party might claim a part, and who reconcile two epochs in the same individual. Finally, M. de Féronnays, an old emigrant, a companion in arms and exile of the Duke de Berry, a courtier, but still more a patriot, had represented France as ambassador to the Emperor of Russia, and had learned in that focus of European negotiations since 1816, to understand thoroughly, to improve and to defend the permanent interests of his country, which, in his opinion, were inseparable from the interests of constitutional liberty. His liberalism, though recent, made a portion of his royalism; for in serving representative institutions he thought he was serving the King. With an intellect more elevated than expansive, but above all upright, he took a more lofty than extended view of affairs; but this peculiarity of his mind inclined him still more to impartiality, that virtue of ministers destined to neutralise factions. Our readers are acquainted with the wisdom of M. de Frayssinous, who was less of a priest than many laymen in the council.

The King disdains his new ministry.

III.

The King, who had rather received this ministry from the hands of M. de Villèle than chosen it himself, did not, unfortunately, look upon it with that serious respect which a constitutional monarch owes to those men who devote themselves to his service. They appeared to him in something of a subaltern character, calculated solely to enable him to get through a period of difficulty, and to execute his intentions blindly, rather than to impress upon him their own system. The cabinet still wanted in his eyes a courtier, or a great parliamentarian, to exercise authority over its deliberations. This trivial consideration for his new ministers evinced itself at the very first sitting of the council. Disdain was manifest both in his accent and attitude. "You should know," said the King to his ministers, "that I part with M. de Villèle against my will; his system was mine, and I hope you will conform yourselves to it." M. de Martignac, confounded at such language, which in one word deprived the ministry of all dignity and independence, by imposing upon it the responsibility of the thoughts of another, respectfully observed to the King that a change of men under constitutional governments was, at least, a modification of things, and that the good faith alone of the ministers upon whom he had deigned to fix his choice, forbade them to recommend counsels and measures unless they first had the acquiescence of their conscience and their personal approbation. They conjured the King, with honourable modesty, to give them the consideration and public regard of which they were deficient, by forming a new ministry from the dissolution of the home department and the ministry of public instruction, and by calling M. de Chateaubriand to the council with the title of Minister of Public Instruction. The King, who had already rejected this great name, refused it again, exclaiming: "I would rather have Casimir Périer!" Then, with his usual facility, reversing what he had said, he cried: "You wish it, then? well, do as you wish."

M. de Martignac concerted with the King the speech from

M. de Chateaubriand refuses the ministry.

the throne on the opening of the Chambers. The King assented without difficulty to the constitutional and conciliating language which prudence required before an unquiet and jealous Chamber. He offered the ministry to M. de Chateaubriand, who readily accepted it, happy at this triumph over M. de Villèle; and confident of the authority which his name, his genius, and his connections would speedily secure him in this almost anonymous government, he communicated his acceptance to the King. But a few hours after, his friends of the *Journal des Débats*, of the Court, and of the Chamber, whom he had drawn into the liberal coalition against the crown, fearful of seeing their chief and their glory absorbed in this council from which they were excluded, made him ashamed of the subordinate functions which were offered to him in the administration, and conjured him to reserve himself for a ministry of which the royalist defection would furnish the elements, and over which he would preside by his name and his genius, upon the ruin of those transitory cabinets; he therefore sent his refusal to the King. The ministry, desirous of satisfying the Chamber by separating the department of public worship from that of public instruction, to dissipate the shadow of Jesuitism which obscured the public mind, left the former to M. de Frayssinous, and gave the latter to a new man, M. de Vatimesnil.

This gentleman brought to the ministry all the unfitness, without any of the advantages of a man of the old regime. He was considered one of the most impetuous sectarians of the ambitious church party. His eloquence was of that accusing nature against revolutions which flagellates and punishes by its energy more than it persuades; bitter even in his justice, zealous in faith and opinion even to bigotry, and implacable in accent, M. de Vatimesnil had been steeped, in the second rank in the department of justice, under M. de Peyronnet, in all the unpopularity which the rigorous laws of the censorship and of sacrilege had cast upon the preceding ministry. His name, which was agreeable to the court from his services, seemed a pledge to the intolerant party, and a threat to the party of the age. Though young and good-

M. Royer-Collard president of the Chamber.

looking, the gloomy fire of his eyes, the working of his features, and the feverish trembling of his voice in the tribune, recalled in him less a minister of conciliation than an organ of terror. His conduct in the ministry, however, was not long in belying these presages. He yielded to the times and repressed with firmness the party which had raised him; odious to the liberals on entering the ministry, and odious to the Jesuits on quitting it, his eloquence, on which the ministry had calculated in the Chambers, vanished with his anger. Accustomed to the transports of the public accuser, it was necessary to give force to his eloquence that he should thunder on the guilty; it was too impassioned to convince. Other times awaited him, and in them he regained his eloquence.

IV.

The ministry, authorised by the King to satisfy public opinion as to the domination ascribed to the Jesuits in public education, appointed a commission, composed of members who were the least suspected of subserviency to this religious order, to examine the means of securing the independence of the establishments of public instruction. Amongst these were M. Lainé, M. Séguier, M. Mounier, M. de Labourdonnaie, and M. Dupin, gentlemen whose names allayed the public anger.

M. de Martignac and M. de Laferronnays, drew up together the speech from the throne. The first ballot of the Chamber, by giving to M. Hyde de Neuville, and to M. de Lalot,—the two most vehement orators of the monarchical opposition party,—the most numerous votes for the presidency, indicated that this party, which held its meetings at the residence of M. Agier, still concentrated all the strength of the two oppositions, which had enabled it to triumph over the crown in the elections. The King, to whom the definitive nomination belonged, gave it to M. Royer-Collard, elected by seven departments, and the symbol of the most honest popularity of the country.

The King's speech and address from the Chamber.

V

The speech pronounced by the King at the opening of the Chambers was nothing but a benevolent appeal to the harmony of the respective powers. One word alone recalled the monarch, the final arbiter of events. The three oppositions, the left, the extreme right, and the defective party, that is to say, the three groups of the Assembly personified in Lafayette, Hyde de Neuville, and Labourdonnaie, replied to it by an address which opposed defiance to its tameness. Under the inspiration of M. de Chateaubriand, they did not content themselves with having put down M. de Villèle, but they were so apprehensive that this minister would again ascend to power, that they wished to tarnish, without, however, daring to accuse him. One of the most trusty orators of this party, the nucleus of the coalition, M. de Lalot, with a hot head and thoughtless eloquence, was charged with this vengeance. In drawing up the address, he introduced a phrase into it which, while inveighing against the fallen minister, rebounded upon the King himself; *lèse majesté* indirect, but transparent, which furnished from the mouth of the royalists the first example of personal insult to the King: "The complaints of France," said M. de Lalot, "have repelled the deplorable system which had rendered your promises illusory." The Girondists of the Assembly of '91 did not utter more disrespectful language to Louis XVI.; still, however, the junction of the disaffection party with the oppositions of the left carried this vote of hatred and resentment.

The King was indignant at this, and began to repent of having offered to public opinion a peace which was thus repulsed. He summoned M. de Martignac and M. Portalis to the Tuileries. His countenance displayed his anger and his discouragement at the useless efforts he had made to prevent a collision between the Crown and the Chamber. "Well, gentlemen," he said to the two ministers, pointing to the evening newspaper which contained the vote and the phrase, "you see to what they are leading us! I will not suffer them to cast

The King indignant at the address.

my crown into the mud. Summon the Chamber into my principal cabinet; there, in the face of the deputies who have insulted the majesty of the throne, I shall declare to the Chamber that I dismiss and dissolve it!" M. de Martignac with difficulty appeased the King; he palliated the intended meaning of the paragraph; he represented it as the last vibration of public anger against a five years' unpopular ministry, that perhaps there were no other means of avoiding the impeachment of M. de Villèle by the Chamber, an exposure which would commence a revolution and produce a trial like that of Strafford, under a prince more intrepid than a Stuart. The King, who flew into a passion and became calm with equal promptitude, like a man who is governed by impressions rather than ideas, yielded to M. de Martignac.

"Well then," he resumed, "I shall receive the address as my brother received that which was voted against his minister, M. de Richelieu. I shall only admit the president and two secretaries of the Assembly, and I shall return them an answer which will be severe without causing a rupture. Draw me up a few words which shall display my dissatisfaction without giving vent to my indignation."

M. de Martignac took the pen and wrote; but his suggestion, which he had proportioned to the irritation and the offended dignity of the King, appeared on this occasion too strong even to the King himself. His Majesty took the paper from him, and effacing with his own hand the words which were too expressive of resentment, he softened the diction of his reply to the address down to an almost tender reproach.

"In summoning you to work with me for the happiness of France," said the monarch, "I calculated on the concurrence of your sentiments, as much as on the concurrence of your talents. My words were addressed to the entire Chamber, and it would have been agreeable to me if its reply could have been unanimous. You will not forget, I am sure, that you are the natural guardians of the majesty of the throne, the first and the noblest of your guarantees. Your labours will prove to France your profound respect for the memory of the sovereign who conferred upon you the charter, and your just

M. de Chateaubriand ambassador to Rome.

confidence in him that you call the son of Henri IV., and of Saint Louis!"

VI.

Having determined to submit to this insult, the King, of his own accord, pushed his condescension still farther. He felt that M. de Chabrol and M. de Frayssinous, two vestiges of the old ministry in the new, could not remain with propriety in the face of an Assembly which had thus tarnished their administration. Although irritated against M. Hyde de Neuville, whose friendship for M. de Chateaubriand and the impetuosity of his character had placed him at the head of the royalist defection in the Chamber, the old affection for this devoted servant of his evil days prevailed in the mind of the King over his passing discontent, and he called him up to the ministry, to replace M. de Chabrol in the admiralty department. He could not have confided to more chivalrous hands the dignity of the French flag, or the security of the crown to a more faithful heart. M. Hyde de Neuville accepted the offered ministry.

M. Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais, and formerly curate of one of the Parisian churches, a young man of elegant manners, of much eloquence and moderate politics, agreeable to the citizen class, whose pride was not hurt by his unassuming name, and free from the yoke of political factions, was appointed to the ministry of public worship. Finally, M. de Chateaubriand, who was the greatest embarrassment of the moment, domineering if in the council, and hostile if out, master of the *Journal des Débats*, and the dreaded oracle of parliamentary opinion, consented at the termination of these long negotiations, to accept an opulent and necessary exile in the Roman embassy. His friends, however, before his departure insisted that the court should first pay the debts with which he was encumbered. The first sum which was given by the King for this purpose not being sufficient to liquidate the liabilities of this statesman, who had been more attentive to his fame than his fortune, and the King being uneasy at his

Arrogance of the Journal des Débats.

continued presence in Paris, a considerable additional sum was granted from the privy-purse, to relieve the ministry from this dangerous competitor. The ministry, in fact, did not consider itself in safety till after the departure of M. de Chateaubriand.

VII

The *Journal des Débats*, which was conducted by statesmen, who had made it their daily tribune, and rendered illustrious by M. de Chateaubriand, had at this period all the importance of a political institution, and no price was too great to win it over to the side of the government. If it had been a venal print, making a traffic of its opinions, and selling its support, the discredit into which it would not have been long in falling, would have speedily deprived it of its authority over the public mind. This journal did not sell itself, but it condescended to receive subsidies, which, without corrupting its opinions, remunerated its zeal and its services. At the commencement of M. de Villèle's ministry, which it intended to support, the *Journal des Débats* received twelve thousand francs per month, but when M. de Chateaubriand, whom the Bertins did not hesitate to accompany in his disgrace and his anger, was dismissed by M. de Villèle, the journal on the following day repudiated its subsidy, that it might be at liberty to promote the resentment of its most brilliant writer. Interest was sacrificed to friendship. On the fall of M. de Villèle, the King and M. de Martignac felt the necessity of gaining over so powerful a friend and so dangerous an enemy. The King himself saw M. Bertin, one of the three proprietors of this journal, and begged him to be reconciled with his ministry.

"This ministry!" responded M. Bertin, with an audacity which deeply offended the King, and as if from one high power to another; "it was I that made this ministry: let it conduct itself properly towards me, or otherwise I may upset it as I did the other!" The King at the moment dissembled his anger, but a few months after this conversation, he himself related this anecdote to one of his ministers, in the words which we literally transcribe. They attest the profound

Large subsidies paid to the press.

irritation of a prince compelled to humble himself thus before his political organs, and to bargain for the support of his subjects.

"Moreover," added Charles X., after relating the observation of M. Bertin, "what can be expected from political organs which set a price upon their services? The Richelieu ministry gave the *Journal des Débats* one hundred and forty-four thousand francs per annum. Villèle and Corbière would give it nothing. When Martignac came into the ministry, he renewed the subsidy, but the proprietors of the journal further required that they should be paid what they called the arrears, that is to say, the amount of subsidy discontinued during the ministry of M. de Villèle, and even paid for the war they had carried on against my government under that minister. They received at that time five hundred thousand francs, of which three hundred thousand went to Bertin, jun., and two hundred thousand to Chateaubriand; and of that I am quite sure!" added the King, dwelling upon his words.

"The King was mistaken in some of the details," said the minister to whom these disclosures were made by Charles X. "The *Journal des Débats* had been hostile to M. de Richelieu: it was M. de Villèle who gave it an allowance of one hundred and forty-four thousand francs per annum; but on learning the disgrace of their friend M. de Chateaubriand, the Bertins nobly gave up the allowance, and declared deadly war against the ministry. The remainder is authentic; but when M. de Martignac was placed at the head of affairs, there were not funds sufficient in the ministerial chest to pay the arrears of five hundred thousand francs specified by the King. His Majesty then agreed to make up the sum from his privy purse, and advanced to the ministry one hundred thousand francs which were to be subsequently reimbursed to him from the chests of the several departments, but this repayment has never taken place."

These details and disclosures of the King, which we merely copy, are authentic.

We blush in showing at what a price one may influence the tribunes, the journals, and the speeches in governments of

Liberal reforms of M. de Martignac.

opinion. It is painful for the historian, or the philosopher, to find occasionally a bribe at the bottom of the most important human affairs; either as payment for the corruptions of conscience, or as legitimate but pitiful salary for political sentiments. In this transaction it is true that neither the Bertins nor M. de Chateaubriand sold their services to the Bourbons, since neither one nor the other hesitated in declining the munificence of power, that they might continue faithful to their friendship and their political opinions. But, like Mirabeau in 1791, they received a recompense or an indemnity for their services, and the King, who knew the price of these services, was justified in speaking of them with bitterness, and in estimating them less highly than if they had been entirely disinterested.

VIII

Numerous changes in the embassies, and in the administration of the kingdom, indicated from the first day the moderate tone which M. de Martignac wished to impress upon the government. This was obstinately resisted by the King, from whom it was necessary to force man by man. Confiding but little in the duration of his new council, and perhaps not altogether sincere in his return to a system of concession, he was evidently afraid of discouraging his friends of 1815, and of delivering up France to his enemies. With respect to the names presented to him by M. de Martignac, the King consulted a secret and confidential committee of reference, conducted by M. Franchet, an old director of the police of the kingdom, under M. de Villèle, and a man who, like M. de Renneville, was invested with the full confidence of the religious party. M. de Martignac felt that there was, behind the scenes in the palace, a government of observation and expectancy, which gave him the hand of the King, but kept his conscience and prompted his resolutions.

The King, though difficult to be convinced as to the necessity of changing the agents of the crown, made but little resistance to the liberal reforms in affairs proposed by his minister. M. de Martignac thus presented, had accepted by

Popular bills introduced by him.

the King, and voted by the Chamber, several laws which evinced a complete return to the spirit of the Charter, and a broad development of public liberty; viz. :—

A law which released the election of the deputies from the suspicious hands of the administration, and which gave all the guarantees of sincerity and legality to the lists of the electors;

A law on the periodical press, which brought the establishment of journals under easy conditions, and which thus multiplied the organs of public opinion;

A law creating an impost of eighty millions, to furnish the government with sufficient means and forces, both naval and military, destined for the emancipation of Greece; in pursuance of which law, the ministry conferred on General Maison the command of a popular expedition to the Morea. But Ibrahim, being disarmed by the conflagration of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino, had already concluded a convention with England to return to Egypt, by the time General Maison had arrived in the Morea;

Finally, some ordinances, most painfully obtained from the unwillingness of the King, against the tolerated existence of the Jesuits. On the first word addressed by the ministers on this subject to his Majesty, he exclaimed, "That is a grave affair, and I cannot come to any decision without submitting the matter to council." The council was unanimous, and the Duke d'Angoulême, whose pious fervour never went to the extent of enslaving his mind, energetically supported the ministers. M. de Frayssinous, being summoned to the council, declared that he would not, perhaps, have drawn up the ordinances which the ministers had presented for the King's signature, but that to refuse signing these orders in council would be tantamount to a dismissal of the ministry—the only one possible, under present circumstances; and that, in the face of the existing extremity, he would not dare to advise the King to resist. The council of the King's conscience, and his confessor himself, all powerful as they were over his mind, authorised a temporary severity against the religious order, whose name alone disturbed the kingdom, and even threatened religion.

Suppression of the Jesuit establishments.

The King at length declared himself ready to sign. "Sire," said M. de Martignac respectfully to him, "your ministers do not by any means wish, by inconvenient hurry, to press upon the mature consideration of your resolution; we therefore supplicate your Majesty to devote some days to personal deliberation." "No, no," replied the King, "I shall sign this instant!" M. Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais, presented him with a pen; "My dear minister," said the King, "I must not dissemble from you that this signature has cost me more than any other in the course of my life, for I thus declare hostilities against my most faithful servants—against those whom I esteem and love the most; fatal condition of princes, whose hearts must always be subservient to their duty!" Then, having at length signed, he turned, as if to solve one lingering doubt, towards the ministerial bishop. "Well, bishop," said he, "you think, then, that we are not doing wrong?" "Oh, no, Sire," replied the Bishop, with heroic firmness in his situation, "you are saving religion from certain ruin!"

The first of these ordinances—fatal necessity, which struck by the hand of a pious king the very masters of his soul—suppressed all the establishments in France directed by the Jesuits, reinstated these establishments amongst the prerogatives of the University, and interdicted every ecclesiastic from teaching who could not swear that he belonged to no religious congregation proscribed by the laws of the realm.

The second limited to twenty thousand the number of pupils at the clerical seminaries, this being the maximum to which the spirit of the age limited sacerdotal vocations.

The others conferred on the bishops the nomination of the directors of the ecclesiastical schools, and assigned allowances to them, liberal compensations for the rigours which the revolt of public opinion had imposed upon the government against the Jesuits

IX.

The power of this party, which was blended with religion itself in the minds of the court, of the clergy, and of the high

Religious feeling against the King and his ministers.

aristocratical classes, never broke out more violently than on the promulgation of these ordinances. The King was treated as an impious person, the ministry as a body of persecutors, the Bishop of Beauvais as an apostate. A protest of the French bishops, of which one hundred thousand copies were circulated amongst the families, instilled complaints, lamentations, and trouble into all pious souls. Clermont-Tonnerre, Archbishop of Toulouse, revolted in a letter against the government, and refused to obey. M. Clausel de Coussergues, Bishop of Chartres, prophesied the ruin of an impious administration.

The King gave himself no concern about these clamours. He prevailed on the Pope to issue a pastoral letter, which declared the purely political act of the French government to be innocent, and which formally repudiated, on the part of the Holy See, the idea of imposing any particular religious congregation on the kingdom of France. This pastoral letter, addressed to M. de Latil, one of the court bishops, who had most power over the conscience of the King, and was least suspected of concession to the age, appeased the tumult, but did not silence the murmur. The Jesuits retired to Switzerland, or the bordering states, whither the confidence of families followed them, and entrusted the aristocratical youth to their discipline.

Such was the persecution of religion by the hand of a king the Most Christian in name, and the Most Catholic in heart of any in Europe. Freedom of conscience, and the reciprocal enfranchisement of the state and the church by a more liberal legislation, would have prevented this unequal war between a nation and a few religious persons; but the *concordat* tied up the hands of religion, whilst the civil law, as applied to conscience, tied up the hands of the King. Religion, liberty, and philosophy, were equally degraded in such a struggle. Peoples will at length learn, from this additional example, not to alienate the exercise of their faith to the civil law, and not to alienate the civil law in *concordats* to the religious pontificate.

X.

The session terminated without either the confidence in, or the distrust of, the ministry being sufficiently characterised in the Chambers, to afford a presage either of the solid stability, or the approaching ruin of the cabinet: it had implacable enemies in the *sacerdotal* party, mortally offended by the expulsion of the Jesuits, in the ultra-royalist party of the extreme right of the Chamber, and in the party of M. de Villèle, which had never consented to his defeat, and which gathered strength every day from the repentance and esteem that had accompanied this minister in his retirement. The Martignac ministry had only precarious friends, doubtful and exacting, in the left and the left centre of the Chamber, parties who lent, but did not give their services. Those harsh and stormy discussions had sufficiently shown to the King, during the session which had just closed, that the requirements of these two parties of the Chamber would increase in the following sessions, in proportion to the new strength which the partial elections of each year would bring them; and that, after having tolerated a conciliating ministry, the liberals would demand a subservient one. The assiduous reading of the journals, and especially the *Gazette de France*, the organ of M. de Villèle, edited by M. de Genoude, a writer devoted in his heart and his convictions to this minister, nourished this distrust of the King; his council lay in the pages of this journal. The *Gazette de France* was in reality for Charles X. the ear of Dyonisius of Syracuse, through which he listened to the murmur and fancied he heard the real thoughts of the royalists. It owed to this period, to the conjuncture and to the insinuations of its writers, a decisive and often a fatal influence over the mind of the prince, and over the dispositions of the royalists, whom it obstinately turned, in the interest of M. de Villèle, from a necessary adhesion to the Martignac ministry. An honourable sentiment, gratitude, as well as conviction, had bound the hearts of these political writers to the fallen minister. In him alone could they see intellect and

Portrait of M. de Genoude.

safety for the monarchy. Their dream was to unite in the same cabinet the Prince de Polignac, who would assure to them the heart of the King, and M. de Villèle, who would assure to them the able administration of affairs; and to compose in this manner, by the aid of these two influences, a royalist government, responding on one side to the court, on the other to the country; a government of which they would be the inspiration and the organ, and which would enable them to participate in power in proportion to their services. M. de Villèle sometimes wrote with his own hand anonymous articles in the *Gazette de France*: his principal writer was M. de Genoude.

XI.

At this period and subsequently, M. de Genoude had exercised a sufficiently familiar influence on the opinions and the errors of the court and the royalist party to leave some trace in the history of his country. He was then a young man, born at Grenoble, of a plebeian family, between the citizen-class and the lower orders. Nature had endowed him with an exterior which won regard, with open intellect, and a character at once diplomatic and imperious. He began by seducing, that he might have a right to command. His family destined him for the priesthood, a profession which deprives a man of his name and his country, and which, by plunging its subordinate ranks amidst the lowest classes of the community, raises them subsequently by talent, by favour, or by virtue, without exciting envy, even to the highest ranks of the social aristocracy. Educated in the country by the priesthood, who saw in him a hope and an honour for their body, afterwards summoned to Paris for more important studies, he began to signalise his name in the church by the translation of sacred books, impressed with a certain brilliancy of style, a work that acquired for him that patronage which piety and *esprit de corps* freely grant to neophytes. This employment, together with his youth, his royalist and religious sentiments, the gracefulness and natural ability of his character, and that caressing assiduity which men of humble origin cultivate more naturally than others towards the

He marries, and gives up the priesthood.

powers that he, had obtained for him the early familiarity of M. de Chateaubriand, M. de Lamennais, M. de Bonald, M. de Montmorency, the Duke de Rohan, Prince Jules de Polignac, and M. de Villèle. The aristocratic party saw in him a dependent, the religious party an adept: it was said he was preparing speedily to enter the church.

But whether his sacerdotal avocation was still undecided in his breast, or whether the perspective of a more free and more rapid fortune in the world had conquered in his mind the slow and austere ambition of the priesthood, his patrons suddenly learnt with anger that he had just married a young lady of distinguished rank, with a fortune superior to his hopes, and who brought him as a dowry the favour and protection of the Duchess of Bourbon, grand-daughter of the Prince of Condé. This princess, it was said, was so intimately connected with this young lady as to assure her in the house of Condé an almost maternal affection. On the application of the author of this history, the King granted to this young writer, in consideration of his marriage, a title of nobility which changed his name; and M. de Villèle gave him the *Gazette de France*. He threw himself at once into politics, to which he brought his religious *souvenirs*, his monarchical ardour, his adulation of the aristocracy, and we know not what self-condemnation for his plebeian blood, which recalled to him the popular revolts of Dauphiny, his native country, against the convocations of Vizille, and which made him reconcile, with inconsistent sophistry, the absolute power of kings, and the indisputable authority of the priesthood with the ideal sovereignty of the people.

But, above all, he brought to his task indefatigable activity—talent of more diurnal habit than brilliancy—a diplomacy of the pen, bending to all without breaking—a style of discussion which never insulted, though it always struck—an invincible obstinacy—a disinterestedness which never gave up an idea to spare his fortune—and a fidelity to M. de Villèle, which did honour even to error when it was screened by the fanaticism of gratitude and devotion. Though connected by his early career and by his faith with the political congregation party, this writer did not submit to its yoke, being too intelligent not to perceive

The ultra parties in the Tuileries.

its mediocrity. Too absolute to be a slave to the systems of others, he could not subject himself to discipline, even to that of his own party: it might be said that he constituted a sect to himself. He was not long in associating in his editorial pursuits, a man of equal stability, but of superior talent as a publicist; this was M. Lourdoueix, in whom his policy still survives.

Such was M. de Genoude, who, without ever seeing Charles X., spoke to the King every evening in his pages, implacable against the concession ministry, and which instilled into the mind of this prince doubts the most fatal to the credit of M. de Martignac. The ministers trembled every time when, on entering the council chamber, they perceived the journal of M. de Genoude on the King's table; and when M. de Lafferronnays or M. de Martignac ventured a smiling reproach at studies so diametrically opposite to their system: "What would you have?" the King would reply in excuse; "'tis an old friend, 'tis an old habit!"

XII.

The opposition to the ministry was not so timid in the interior of the palace. The bishops, who had long been intimate with the Count d'Artois, although they had acquiesced under the Empire in the necessity for the momentary expulsion of the Jesuits, did not the less bitterly lament the baseness of a ministry, which, through the King's hand, sacrificed the men of God to the repugnance of the people. The congregation party, which thenceforward only formed one with the Jesuit party, held its coteries within the very walls of the Tuileries. The court and emigration party grouped around the princesses, vented their indignation loudly at the King's defection, in deserting his nobility and his clergy to deliver himself, like his unfortunate brother, Louis XVI., to an impious and plebeian ministry, which only differed from the Girondist ministry of Roland by its grace and deference, and which was conducting the monarchy with a hand less rude, but equally certain, to disgrace and destruction.

The Duke de Rivière, governor of the Duke de Bordeaux,

Their influence on the King's mind.

having just died, was replaced by the Baron de Damas, who, with a pure heart, a fervent disposition, and a moderate understanding, but of great rectitude, had obtained, by his virtues and his modesty, the confidence of the Duke d'Angoulême, and an involuntary ascendancy over the mind of the King. Although the Baron de Damas was incapable of intrigue, and that his cool judgment made him admit the necessity, temporary at least, for the administration of M. de Martignac, and for concessions to public opinion, of which it formed a part in a constitutional restoration, yet his rank at court, his elevated functions as governor of the heir to the throne, his avowed royalism, his sincere piety, and his presumed influence over the mind of the chief of the dynasty, collected around him all the murmurs and all the resentment of the court and the church. His saloon at the Tuileries, dreaded by the ministers, was a centre of domestic opposition, which formed round the King himself an atmosphere of conspiracy against the official government.

Finally, the royalist party of Paris, of the Chambers, of the journals, and of the provinces, still impregnated with the passions of 1815, seeing the increase from year to year through the elections, in the number of deputies of the revolutionary opposition, the addresses of the Chambers rising from a tone of servility to one of insult, the ministry of M. de Villèle falling before the shadow of an assembly, and the King himself submitting, evidently against his will, to a ministry which pressed even upon his conscience with the weight of public opinion, thought they saw in those wise concessions which prevent revolutions the weakness which encourages them; and rendered fanatic, some by pity, others through fear, they raged with madness against the pacific ministry which was interposed between their passions and new revolutions.

The King, influenced in spite of himself by this universal murmuring of his party, still, however, supported his ministers; but this he did while he exposed them to the derision of his friends, as an expediency of his reign which he had occasion for, but of which he was ashamed, and disdainful of such necessary subalterns. Such was the position of the ministry at the end of the session.

The King's visit to Alsacia.

XIII.

M. de Martignac felt this commotion in the favour of the court and the majority of the Chamber. He addressed a confidential memoir to the King on the state of the public mind, and on the necessity of compounding with the Chamber, and seeking therein, by still more constitutional measures, a reconciliation with the men of the left centre, whom the obstinacy of the right rendered indispensable to the crown. He knew that the King's mind was prompted by the rash idea of a new dissolution of the Chamber. He prophesied to him, in recurring to such an act, the irritation of the country, and the direct and always fatal struggle between the hereditary and the electoral sovereignties. M. de Laferonnays, affected at the coldness evinced towards him by the King and the Duke d'Angoulême, since he had descended from his rank as a courtier and an emigrant—the servant of princes, to that of a minister—the accomplice of a national policy, demanded permission to retire: M. de Martignac proposed to the King, as a substitute, M. Pasquier, a minister of incontestable capacity, and whose mercenary services would neutralise his political aspect in the council. M. Hyde de Neuville, who always mistook his feelings for policy, again recommended M. de Chateaubriand; but the King rejected them both by pretexts which concealed the name, always present to his heart, of Prince Polignac. Nothing was resolved on, and the King, desirous of ascertaining with his own eyes his personal ascendancy over the affections of his people, went to visit the Alsatian provinces, accompanied by M. de Martignac.

This journey was a continued triumph. Peoples by their natural intelligence love their kings as a visible personification of their country; and when they see them face to face, the distrust which separates them vanishes, and gives place to the feelings by which they are impelled. Charles X. represented royalty physically by a countenance which charmed the people. He united in his person at that period, elegance surviving youth, with the majesty of years and vigour under gray hairs

Prince Polignac appears on the scene.

His graceful carriage on horseback fascinated all eyes. The concessions which his ministry had recently prompted him to had opened the hearts even of the opponents of royalty. The liberals studied, by a politic show of popularity, to encourage his first advances towards them. Benjamin Constant, Casimir Périer, the great manufacturers and the deputies of Alsace, surrounded him with their workmen and their peasants, in the workshops of the towns and in the country. The King conferred the order of St. Louis on Casimir Périer with his own hand. The welcome and the attentions of these liberal provinces, the sincerity of their enthusiasm, once more convinced him that his ministry had restored to him the heart of the nation, and he returned to Paris with a confirmed resolution to maintain its good opinion.

Meanwhile, the Prince de Polignac, with whom he kept up a private correspondence, fancied that the hour was propitious to place himself at the head of the council, and that the triumphant journey of the King might have inspired him with sufficient self-confidence to venture to avow him as his friend. The department of foreign affairs was vacant by the retirement of M. de Laferronnays; and some understanding with the King's council and with the *Journal des Débats*, which wished to flatter through Prince Polignac the secret weakness of the King, induced him to leave London and to appear unexpectedly in Paris, where a department was in waiting for him. The King himself, to give a plausible motive for the presence of the Prince de Polignac in Paris, had ordered M. de Portalis to summon him.

This gentleman, who performed, *ad interim*, the functions of minister of foreign affairs, represented respectfully to the King, that the presence of the Prince, who was, right or wrong, the bugbear of liberal opinion and the hope of absolutism, would give umbrage to the public mind. But the King persisted, without listening to any remarks, and the letter was sent. The Prince de Polignac thought, on receiving it, that he was already minister, and communicated to the Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the British cabinet, the ex-

Opening of the session of 1829.

pectations with which he was going to Paris, deriving his confidence from the King himself.

His presence at the court, however, excited the murmurs predicted to the King by his ministers. They unanimously declared to Charles X., that if M. de Polignac entered the council chamber, they would instantly quit it, to prevent their policy from being tinged by the mental reservations which public opinion imputed to this future minister. The King, feeling that he had presumed too much on the complaisance of his council, adjourned the accession of his favourite to the ministry, and the accomplishment of his own wishes. M. de Polignac, however, tried some discordant ministerial combinations, in which he endeavoured to include M. Pasquier, a name which startled no shade of politics, and M. Lainé, who reassured all. M. Pasquier listened, but was too clear-sighted to consent. M. Lainé, whose saddened mind already predicted the calamities of the monarchy and of liberty, which he had wished to reconcile at length on the ruins of tyranny, had already withdrawn his great name into that civic philosophy which formed the groundwork of his character. No man of sense would consent to lend his responsibility to what was either a palace conspiracy on the part of the King, or a caprice of pride on the part of Prince Polignac, which could no otherwise be unravelled to the eyes of the public than by a catastrophe. The King and M. de Polignac were, therefore, compelled to adjourn their rash design.

The King opened the session of 1829 in a speech inspired by M. de Martignac, which disavowed more explicitly than ever all ideas of retrograding.

"Experience," said the King, concluding a satisfactory picture of the general situation of affairs, and alluding to the absolute systems which were imputed to him; "experience has dissipated the spell of irrational theories. France knows, as you do, upon what basis its happiness reposes; and they who would seek for it elsewhere than in the sincere union of the royal authority with the liberties consecrated by the charter, would be shamefully discredited!"

France took confidence, from these words, in the future

Exculpatory speech of Prince Polignac.

The left centre, and even the left itself, applauded. These two sections, increased by the three preceding elections, opened their arms to embrace beforehand the government that was coming to them. Everything seemed to smile for a moment at the unhopèd-for prudence of the King. The Prince de Polignac, who had remained a few weeks longer in Paris, under pretence of witnessing the opening of the Chambers, availed himself of the debate on the address in the Chamber of Peers to make a profession of faith, which resembled a mysterious preface concerted with the King to make the court popular. The Prince, who had never before taken a part in the public debates, suddenly appeared in the tribune to speak, not on the subject of the address under discussion, but about himself.

"Some public journals," he said, "have for some days past directed their most violent calumnies against me, without provocation on my part, without truth, without likelihood, without a single fact which could serve them for motive or pretext; they have dared to represent me to the whole of France as nourishing in my heart a secret repugnance to our representative institutions, which seem to have acquired the sanction of property, and a sort of imprescriptible authority, since the royal hand which gave them to us reposes gloriously in the tomb. If the authors, whoever they may be, of these calumnious inculpations, could penetrate to the interior of my house, they would there find the best of all refutations and the best of all answers: they would see me there surrounded by the fruits of my constant studies, having all for end and object the defence and consolidation of our actual institutions, and the desire and the intention of leaving them as an inheritance to my children. Yes, our institutions," added the Prince de Polignac, with the solemnity of an oath, "appear to me to reconcile all that can be required on the one hand by the power and dignity of the throne, and on the other by a just, national independence; it is, therefore, in accordance with my conscience and my conviction that I have taken the solemn engagement to concur in maintaining them. * * * And what right have people now to think that I would recede from this

Its effect on the country and the ministry.

engagement? By what right do they impute to me the intention of sacrificing liberties legitimately acquired? Have I ever been known as the servile adorer of power? Has my political faith been ever shaken in the presence of danger? If it were possible to interrogate the conscience and the lives of my accusers, might I not find themselves bending the knee before the idol when, more independent than they were, I braved in chains both danger and death?"

This speech, or the unexpected personal feeling of a man who was known to be the favourite, and, so to speak, the offspring of the King's thought, produced a double astonishment and a double emotion in the country. Some rejoiced to see in it a reassuring emanation from the opinions of Charles X., imposing upon his court itself the sincere return to the constitution, which for a year past had signalised his public acts. Others saw in it the programme of a court minister avowed beforehand by the King. It burst like a clap of thunder on the head of M. de Martignac, who felt therein that the King was preparing a successor for him, and that the shaking of his credit in the Chambers must necessarily follow the presumed tottering of his credit in the heart of the sovereign. He therefore entered, with less hope, but not diminished patriotism, upon the double task created for the government by the competition, thus proclaimed, of a rival.

The first balloting of the Assembly for the nomination of its president, by giving the majority to M. Royer-Collard, with one hundred and fifty-five votes for M. Casimir Périer, and ninety for M. de Labourdonnaie, showed him the formidable strength of the two oppositions which, by uniting, could make his government totter at will.

The centre itself belonged more to M. de Villèle than to the ministry. This minister, deposed from power, but not from the hearts of his old friends, had retired to his estate in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, to withdraw his name from party intrigues. But he prompted his friends from thence, and he prevented them from attacking too violently a cabinet of which M. de Polignac now affected the inheritance. The *Gazette de France*, his principal organ, as we have explained, had, at the

Two liberal laws proposed by government.

same time, some ties of opinion, of religion, of friendship, and of gratitude with M. de Polignac. Embarrassed between his two friends, M. de Genoude endeavoured to unite them in spite of notorious antipathies. M. de Villèle, convinced long since of the superiority in the King's favour, and the inferiority in public opinion, of the colleague they were proposing for him, firmly resisted such an alliance. Thence arose the undecided immobility of the right centre in the Assembly. This inaction alone afforded time and an appearance of stability to the ministry, which earnestly persuaded the King to nominate M. Royer-Collard, who steered cautiously amongst all the parties in the Chamber. This choice seemed politic at the time, but the event proved it fatal.

XIV.

After some moderate speeches in the debate on the address, the government presented to the Chambers, as an organic and liberal portion of the charter, a popular law on the municipal councils, which restored to the towns and the country a liberal share of intervention in their powers and their local interests. This was an emancipation of the parishes in all that did not essentially relate to the central power and to the unity of monarchical administration. The King required his ministers to present at the same time an organic law on the councils of districts and departments, a liberal and representative law also in its spirit, but favourable to the landed aristocracy in its foreseen results, called for by the royalists as a compensation for the too democratical liberties of the municipalities, and as a basis for their ascendancy in the administration of departments.

The King, it was said, being convinced that one of these two bills would be defeated by the resistance of the royalists, had required, as a condition for consenting to their presentation, that the two laws should be connected and indivisible in the discussion. This stratagem, unworthy the probity of a prince, was, perhaps, a calumny of public opinion; but it seemed, however, to be justified by the attitude of the royalists, the presumed confidants of the court intentions in the debate and in the

They are defeated by the folly of the opposition.

vote. The first bill did not excite any great opposition; but the second, amended by the committee of the whole house, which suppressed the district councils to create assemblies of cantons, more numerous and more popular, was thrown out by the senseless obstinacy of the left and the left centre, more eager to gain public favour by the unseasonable opposition of ambitious orators, than to strengthen themselves by the straightforward acceptance of large concessions offered to liberty.

This vote was the downfall of the ministry, and the left and the left centre knew it. M. de Martignac had not kept in ignorance either M. Sébastiani, or M. Casimir Périer, or M. Guizot, their leaders, that the King would never pass the limit of liberal concession which he had prescribed to his ministers; and that, by furnishing the sovereign with a pretext for dismissing his conciliating ministry, they were throwing the court back upon insane ministries, the country into convulsions, and making liberty problematical, perhaps even a prey to tyranny; but no wisdom could either enlighten or shake the obstinacy of these men. Their only policy was pessimism, the crime and suicide of all deliberative bodies, wherein passion always prefers the popularity of orators to the welfare of the people. The royalists, on their side, vainly and eloquently implored by M. de Martignac, and by M. Hyde de Neuville, to come to the support of the law, and to prevent the common ruin, by voting with the counsellors of the crown, remained motionless on their benches, smiling at the embarrassment of the ministry, triumphing at the triumph of their enemies, and rejoicing inwardly at the approaching downfall of the administration, whose spoils they hoped to share amongst them.

Astounded at the vote, M. de Martignac retired for a moment from the Chamber, to go and receive the King's orders. A minister less devoted, and one who would have thought rather of revenge than of duty, would have thrown up a ministry where the liberals responded to concessions by further exactions, where the royalists conspired against themselves with the revolution, where the court turned to derision the devotion of its ministers, and where the King himself seemed to rejoice at the reverses

Fruitless repentance of the liberals.

of his most able and faithful servants, in order to acquire the right of appealing to favourites, and of having recourse to extremities.

M. de Martignac felt with patriotic bitterness all these mortifications of fidelity, and all these temptations of weakness; but he had derived from his own mind, and from his connexion with M. Lainé, a sentiment of duty superior to these vexations of a statesman. He did not hesitate in remaining at the post where he could at least deaden the shock between the crown and the Chamber. He did not hope to do more, but he still struggled. On returning to the Assembly an hour after, with a countenance sorrowful but calm, he ascended the tribune and announced to the Chamber that the King had withdrawn both the bills. Consternation, when now too late, seized on the left, the left centre, and the centre, while a malignant joy ran through the benches of M. de Labourdonnaie and the royalists. The members of the liberal party who had, by their culpable exactions, driven the King to repent of these concessions, exclaimed against the precipitancy of his irritated prerogative, and appeared to regret their error. But it was now too late; the ministry, discredited at the court by its defeat in the Chamber, and humbled before the royalists by the refusal of its advances to the liberal party, still held together, but devoid of life.

France became agitated, and the future was overcast. M. de Laferronnays, seized with a sudden illness in the King's cabinet, left the department of foreign affairs to the cupidity of every aspirant. M. de Chateaubriand was again proposed; but the King appointed M. Portalis to it, *pro tem.*, to keep it confidentially for M. de Polignac. As a recompense for this complaisance, the King gave a written promise to M. Portalis to reserve for him the irremovable and lucrative place of first president of the *Cour de Cassation*, just vacant by the death of M. Henrion de Pansey, the most upright and most venerated magistrate of the kingdom. M. Bourdeau, a member until then obscure of the Chamber, was installed, on account of his obscurity alone, in the department of justice. The court, the courtiers, and the princesses themselves turned into derision the men who were promoted to the principal functions of

Charles X. feels the pulse of the army.

government. It might be said that the King was giving reasons beforehand for the dismissal already decreed in his heart against a ministry so despised.

XV.

The budget was voted in a sort of truce, silent and gloomy, between the parties. The debate was only distinguished by the despicable chicanery of the Chamber on the funds employed by M. de Peyronnet, in the construction, more or less splendid, of a dining-room for the department of justice, and on the suppression of some aides-de-camp of the King and the princes. The King but ill concealed his contempt for these paltry proceedings, and his fixed intention to shake off the yoke of the press and the Chamber.

On the evening of a debate, in which the pay of the army had been violently contested with the government, M. de Caux, the minister of war, entered the King's cabinet, still exasperated with the struggle he had been forced to maintain. "Well!" said the King, entering into his feelings, "what do you think of such an assembly?" "'Tis abominable, Sire!" replied the minister. The King, delighted to find his own impressions in the breast of one of his counsellors, drew M. de Caux at these words into the recess of a window. "You agree, then, at length," he said to him in an undertone, "that this cannot continue? Am I sure of the army?" he added, in a significant and caressing accent, pressing the minister's hand in his own. "Sire," replied M. de Caux, "they must know for what purpose." "Unconditionally," replied the King. "Well, then, Sire," returned the minister, "the army will never fail the King for the defence of the throne and the charter; but if the object be to re-establish the old regime!"—"The charter! the charter!" exclaimed the King, with impatience. "Who wants to violate it? Undoubtedly it is an imperfect work; my brother was so eager to reign at any price! I shall respect it, however; but what has the army to do with the charter?"

Nocturnal conferences had already brought together in private the King and the most ultra-royalists of the majority

Dissolution of the Martignac ministry.

of 1815. M. Ferdinand de Berthier one evening conducted M. de Labourdonnaie, in plain clothes, through the room of the first valet-de-chambre, into the apartment of Charles X. A parliamentary committee, composed of M. Ravez, whom displeasure with the ministry had inclined to M. de Polignac; M. de Chantelauze, solicitor general at Grenoble, a magistrate bigotted to authority; M. de Montbel, a faithful, and at that time, inalienable friend of M. de Villèle; drew up for the King plans of administration, lists of majorities, and ministerial arrangements, at a few paces from the council chamber, where the ministers were still devoting themselves to the reconciliation of the crown and Chamber. The Prince de Polignac, who had returned to London after his strange apparition in the tribune, arrived again in Paris, as if summoned, unknown to ministers, by a mysterious signal from court. He had, in fact, been recalled by a letter from the King himself. This monarch, devoted apparently to hunting and to court etiquette, talked no more on political subjects with M. de Martignac. Silence was the prelude of ingratitude. Ministers were fluctuating in a state of doubt, which suspended everything, even to their thoughts. The King was about to make a tour in Normandy; and nothing decisive was anticipated before his return.

On the morning of the 6th August, M. Portalis, minister of foreign affairs, was unexpectedly summoned to Saint Cloud. The King announced to him the dissolution of the ministry "Concessions have weakened me," he said, "without satisfying my enemies." M. Portalis then claimed the promise, written, but kept by the King, of the place of first president of the *Cour de Cassation*, in recompense for so many services. "I am not sufficiently satisfied with you," said the King, "to give you so signal a mark of approbation; moreover, it is so high a position, that my new council may itself be called upon to dispose of it."

M. Roy, the minister of finance, was informed by the King a few moments after of the dismissal of ministers. His Majesty requested him to continue in the council, but M. Roy decidedly refused.

The new ministry.

M. Hyde de Neuville, safe in conscience, and proud of his success during his administration, could not believe in his disgrace. The ministers being apprised in succession by M. Portalis, carried their portfolios to St. Cloud and took leave of the King. He spoke with kindness and gratitude to M. de Martignac, with severity to M. Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais, and with roughness to M. de Vatisménil. He pardoned liberalism in men who had by their previous career a right to believe in liberty, but he did not pardon what he called revolutionary complaisance, in men who appeared to him to seek nothing but popularity and the gratification of their ambition, in their recent desertion of the court party, or the congregation.

In the evening the new ministry, which had at length been formed in the course of the day, burst like the revolutionary tocsin upon Paris.

This ministry was composed of the Prince de Polignac, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. de Labourdonnaie, Home Office; M. de Bourmont, Minister of War; M. de Montbel, Minister of Public Instruction; M. de Courvoisier, Minister of Justice; M. de Chabrol, Minister of Finance; and M. d'Haussez, the Admiralty.

The Prince de Polignac had, without consulting him, appointed to this post M. de Rigny, still glowing with his Navarino popularity, but M. de Rigny declined it. The Duke d'Angoulême, indignant at a refusal which he looked upon almost as an act of insubordination in a naval officer, and as an insult to his father, said to M. de Rigny, while reproaching him for his timidity. "You may bid adieu to any promotion during two reigns at all events." This Prince, with whom filial affection was paramount to political considerations, had allowed himself to be led by the King to an extremity which was repugnant to his good sense and his natural disposition; but this, during all his life, was his virtue and his misfortune: he was a son before he was a prince. M. de Rigny was replaced by M. d'Haussez.

Portrait of Prince Polignac.

XVI.

There was not a single name in all this council which was not either a menace, a prelude, or a necessity for a *coup d'état*. The instinct of France and of Europe was not deceived for a moment in the matter. There are situations which are absolutely prophetic.

The Prince de Polignac was a confidant rather than a minister. Born at court during the first storms of the revolution, he was son to the lady whose beauty and affection had most fascinated the heart of the Queen Marie Antoinette, and who had accumulated the greatest share of disfavour and unpopularity upon the name of Bourbon; he was the godson of the hapless Queen; brought up on the knees of the Count d'Artois; had emigrated with his mother, while yet a child, when his family, exposed to the enmity of the people even by the lustre of its devotion to royalty, was compelled to fly from Versailles, as if to remove all pretext for the public maledictions and the dangers of the court; he was educated and adopted, as it were, by the Count d'Artois, being one of his aides-de-camp during the emigration; while yet a mere stripling he was connected with the proceedings of Georges' plot against the First Consul; he was arrested in Paris, at that period of suspicion, with his brother, and condemned to death as an accomplice of this attempt; threatened with pardon in consideration of his interesting youth, and generously contending for death with his brother who was older than himself, a sublime contest which melted to pity not only the judges but the First Consul himself; he was imprisoned for life at Vincennes but subsequently pardoned and released; he emigrated again to rejoin his prince, and returned with him in 1814. By the favour of the Count d'Artois, he was invested with military rank and diplomatic functions at Rome, where his religious fervour procured him the private confidence of the pontificate. In 1815 he was a refugee at Ghent, and fought in Savoy at the head of an insurrection of French royalists against the Emperor; he debated almost alone, in the tribune of the

His real and supposed character.

Chamber of Peers, the oath demanded by the Constitution to the Charter, to which he made certain reserves called for by his conscience as a Christian, but which at the same time seemed to keep in reserve his political opinions also, as an unconditional royalist: he was next sent on an embassy to London, as if to blot out by his absence his natal unpopularity and to mature his knowledge of public affairs: he was personally unknown in France, and, only recognised by his name and by all the prejudices attached to it: he was considered, right or wrong, as the hope of the sacerdotal party, the principal members of which, emigrants in London, had fed his infancy with doctrines incompatible with the liberty and equality of public worship, as the favourite of the courtier and aristocratic party, whose credit in the state would revive with his name, and finally, as the devoted but blind myrmidon of a King whose will was to him as the fiat of heaven: such was the aspect presented by Prince de Polignac in the opinion of the masses.

Those who, like the author of this narrative, beheld him nearer, and judged of him with fewer prejudices, saw in M. de Polignac not the mere production of birth and the accidents of court favour, but what the lapse of time, the vicissitudes of life, long captivity, study, and public affairs had made him—a man whose external appearance recalled in his features and the elegance of his carriage, the delicate and aristocratical beauty of his mother, impressed with the melancholy of long imprisonment, with a facile and graceful intelligence applied somewhat late to political affairs, possessing under a meditative appearance, only the surface of reflection, with a spirit of royalism which made of the King not only a father, but the shadow of God upon earth. His piety was more suited to a cloister than a palace, and was sometimes elevated to ecstasy, fancying supernatural interventions of divine grace in human destiny; but he had a natural goodness which preserved him from all intolerance, and still more from all persecution of conscience or party, together with political opinions which could very sincerely have admitted representative institutions,—provided these institutions, which his inattentive mind had mo-

Portrait of *M. de Labourdonnaie*.

delled upon those of England, without comprehending anything of the French revolution of 1789—had comprised an indissoluble trinity of the nobility, the commons, and the church.

XVII.

M. de Labourdonnaie represented, in the eyes of the country, a terrorist of royalty, desirous of combatting the revolution with the same weapons that the revolution had made use of in combatting royalism. A man whose opinions were inseparable from passion, and with whom violence formed an essential ingredient of eloquence. In 1815 he was a Vendéan tribune, and had become a statesman in 1829; his name alone, which had so often frightened both liberals and Bonapartists when he demanded from Louis XVIII. proscriptions by categories, made the moderate men of all parties shudder when they saw him who had accused *M. de Peyrounet* of effeminacy, become the moderator and arbiter of the councils of Charles X.

This violence of *M. de Labourdonnaie* was, however, more in his attitude than his character. His absolute and implacable theories in the tribune were at bottom nothing but verbose gratifications, thrown out to feed that reputation for power which he loved to maintain in the saloons of the aristocracy and in the châteaux of La Vendée. They did not invest in their showy folds either the fixed systems or the active will of the statesman, whose fire evaporated in polemics. The resounding of a carefully written speech to the extremities of the country satisfied his vanity. Always threatening, but never striking, he rather wished for fame than power. His ambition was noise; and he thundered rather to be heard by his friends than to crush his enemies. Charles X., who had taken the orator for the man, and who had hoped to find in *M. de Labourdonnaie* a monarchical *Mirabeau*, was not long in perceiving that he had introduced to his council nothing but a sonorous word, an absent thought, a will without impulsion, object, or design.

M. de Bourmont, Minister of War, was La Vendée itself,

Portrait of M. de Bourmont.

summoned through his name to the council to give laws to France. This name recalled not only the armed spirit of party, the bloodthirsty hatred of 1793 between the *bleus* and the *blancs*, and the civil war, but it recalled, through Waterloo, desertion to a foreign power in the midst of a campaign; and it also recalled, through the trial of Marshal Ney, against whom M. de Bourmont, his subordinate officer, had given evidence without discretion, one of the most implacable severities of the Restoration, and one of those tragical deaths for which the Bourbons were the most bitterly reproached. The selection of such a minister of war resembled a revocation of the amnesty which the wisdom of Louis XVIII. had thrown over the glory and the errors of the French army. It seemed also to agitate politically the blood of Waterloo, to retrace incessantly its sorrow and its national humiliation in the name of the deserter of the army.

It is true that M. de Bourmont had redeemed these misfortunes of his name by all the endowments of the military man, the party chief, and the statesman; the civil war which found him in the cradle, had steeped him from his earliest years in all the daring of its battle-fields, and in all the mysteries of its plots; the wars of the Empire, which he subsequently passed through with glory, after the pacification of Brittany, had given him for competitors in the road to fame those same generals of the republic whom he had formerly had for enemies. Napoleon had distinguished him for his military talents, amidst all those warriors brought up at his side, or under him, to the profession of arms. But M. de Bourmont was more than a soldier. He had intellect and ambition capable of undertaking, and even excelling, in all the parts which the mutability of revolutionary times present to those characters whose genius leads to fortune. Variable and at the same time a fatalist, sometimes dozing like the Orientals, in a degree of idleness and effemiacy which left events to take their course, at others waking with a start at the call of circumstances, and displaying that activity which multiplies time, actually devouring business, bold and prudent, mysterious and confiding, capable of lengthened patience

The other members of the ministry.

and of strokes of audacity, with a mind at once solid and pliable; a negociator by nature, caressing with his superiors, frank with his equals, agreeable to his subordinates; suddenly bursting from his habitual silence by flashes of eloquence, illuminating the council of war, or political combinations; faithful to the cause of his early years less from bigotry than from his sanguine nature and his sentiments of honour, and by that very carelessness in principle better calculated than any one else to serve a Restoration without participating in its madness: his pensive brow, his eye of fire, his thin lips, his intelligent smile, his complexion embrowned by the sun and the bivouac, his elegant figure, his light step, his familiar gesture, and his brief expressions, indicated at the first glance a man superior to all around him. It was impossible to catch a glimpse of him in the midst of a group of general officers, without asking his name, or to have seen him once without for ever after recollecting him. Such was the minister of war; his only misfortune was to be called Bourmont. Charles X. and M. de Polignac had not thought of this; but France imagined that they had, and that he brought civil war with him to the council.

XVIII

M. de Montbel was a new name in state affairs; and he entered on them with only half a reputation, honourably acquired in the administration of Toulouse, of which he was mayor, and in the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, where he had nobly and courageously sustained the power and covered the disgrace of his friend M. de Villèle. This was evidently a hand held out to the return of the latter to the King's council. It further gave an honoured and an agreeable speaker to the Chamber, where all parties paid homage to his character.

M. de Courvoisier was the titular orator of the council; his name had a less alarming significance for the constitution. He had defended, with a diffuse and impassioned eloquence, the system of M. Decazes; but since then his solitary and

Opposition of the public journals.

abrupt genius had thrown him, it was said, into the mystic systems of the Count de Maistre and of M. de Bonald, and into the pious sophisms of the clerical party. In this orator, so long buried in his retreat of Mount Jura, might also be found again either the old fanatic of the charter, or the new one of absolutism. His name was less a menace than an enigma in the ministry.

Our readers are acquainted with M. de Chabrol, an obstinate member of administration, keeping himself in the background, or making himself subordinate in all political *regimes*; giving neither pledges nor alarms to public opinion, and complaisantly agreeing to complete, under the guidance of the King, a *coup d'état* ministry, with equal readiness as a ministry of the charter.

With respect to M. de Haussez, *préfet* of Grenoble, he was a stranger; but the choice which had fallen upon him made him known to the public. He was estimated according to his real character, as capable of devotion, but incapable of resisting measures which might bear the colouring of fidelity and of danger for the welfare of the King.

XIX.

Public opinion and the press, which had been preparing for some months to learn everything, and to dare everything against a desperate attempt of the crown, burst forth on the following day in anger, in threats, or in gloomy forebodings, which in a few hours threw the whole country into agitation. "Coblentz! Waterloo! 1815!" exclaimed the *Journal des Débats*, analyzing the names of the ministers; "the emigration in M. de Polignac! Desertion to the enemy in M. de Bourmont! The horrors of the proscription in M. de Labourdonnaie. These are the three principles in the three personages of the ministry! Press it and it will drop out nothing but humiliation, misfortune, and danger! Unhappy France! Unhappy King!"

M. Guizot and M. Thiers, the former in the journal *Le Temps*, the latter in the *National*, an organ that he afterwards brought into credit by a style of polemics, in which were fore-

M. de Lafayette at Lyons.

seen under the animation of the public writer the mind of the future minister, thundered against the insanity of the King. The writers of a still more popular opposition congratulated themselves loudly that a war, openly declared by such names against the constitution, would at length tear asunder the hypocritical veil behind which the Church, the aristocracy, and the court had been hatching their plots for the last six years against all public liberties. The societies both patent and concealed, such as the directing committee of M. de Lafayette, and the society *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*, of MM. de Broglie and Guizot prepared themselves for the attack, or for resistance. Associations and clubs for the defence of the threatened institutions were opened in every town in the kingdom, and pledged themselves to support the measure of withholding the supplies which had preceded the downfall of the Stuarts in England. M. de Lafayette, equally ardent in his old age for the ruin of the monarchy, as in the early scenes of 1789, travelled through Dauphiny, an insurrectional country, where the revolution had fought its first battle at Vizille. He was there decreed crowns of oak; and he entered Lyons in triumph, in a carriage drawn by four white horses, a souvenir of the federation immortalised in the memory of the people. One hundred thousand persons formed his cortège, and his carriage was preceded by three hundred young men on horseback. The citizens received him with speeches at the gates of the city.

"This day," he replied to them, "I find myself in the midst of you, at a moment which I should call critical, if I did not see in this powerful city that calm, and even disdainful firmness of a great people who know their rights and feel their power!" He had no further occasion to conspire, the government conspired for him, and France conspired with him. Uneasy expectation and a fearful immobility were, during these last months of 1829, the prelude to inevitable war between the country and its government which stood facing each other to ascertain which should strike the first blow

XX

Meanwhile the ministry seemed to recoil before that which it had braved in its formation. It might be said that its line of policy was to exhaust, by dint of immobility and innocence, the commotions and suspicions by which it was assailed. M. de Labourdonnaie published a circular to the *préfets*, which announced neither projects hostile to the constitution, nor violent tension in the springs of government. M. de Polignac occupied himself with his despatches and with the diplomatic mechanism of his department.

But all on a sudden some intestine dissensions, which were already smouldering in the council, between men who had been grouped together by the wishes of the King rather than by any preconcerted sympathy amongst themselves, broke out by the retirement of M. de Labourdonnaie. It was thought that this secession was a denouncement in the council of the consequences of the intended blow to which this minister would not lend himself. Public alarm, therefore, increased at the violence of that policy which had caused even such a man to hesitate. But nothing of this was the case; a vain pre-eminence in the council of which the Prince de Polignac affected the presidency, but which M. de Labourdonnaie would not submit to, afforded a pretext and an occasion for this dismemberment of the cabinet. The King, who had hoped to find in M. de Labourdonnaie both strength and inspiration, had been struck with the nullity of his thoughts. The genius of no man is permitted to prevail against the instinct of a whole people, and against the truth of a position. The charter was the truth of the Restoration, and in seeking for sophisms against this truth the most ingenious men could find nothing. M. de Labourdonnaie himself eagerly seized on the first pretext to withdraw rather than acknowledge his incapacity, or to avoid the responsibility of a catastrophe into the combination of which he had rashly entered. Two attempts at power, without any possible result but some acts of insanity, had punished him with fifteen years of headlong opposition. He was finally absorbed in the

M. Guernon de Ranville.

peerage, with the honours of sepulture due to fallen ambition, and his name was therein extinguished in silence.

XXI

The imperious injunctions of the *Gazette de France* compelled the Prince de Polignac to give the Home Office to M. de Montbel, to serve there as a pledge or a hope to the party of M. de Villèle, of which M. de Montbel was the precursor or the continuator in the eyes of M. de Genoude. A minister of public instruction was next sought for to replace M. de Montbel. An orator being required, M. Rocher, a young judge of talent and character, which had raised him by his merit alone to the second post in the ministry of justice, was consulted by the King, on the aptitude and eloquence of the pleaders in the different courts of justice in the kingdom. M. Rocher indicated M. Guernon de Ranville, whose fine talents thus raised him unconsciously to the splendour and troubles of power in a moment of crisis and of gloom. To accept was to devote himself, to refuse might look like cowardice; M. Guernon de Ranville therefore accepted.

During these changes, in which the King and M. de Polignac sought for the stability of their government, the elections made good the opposition in the Chamber, by returning men the most distrustful against the supposed designs of the court; everything, therefore, breathed approaching war. On both sides were sent, not pacific counsellors, but zealous combatants.

XXII.

Two historical characters made their first appearance at this period of political assemblies, as if to predict the agitations with which they were to associate their long career; one of these was M. Guizot, and the other M. Berryer. M. Guizot had been known since 1814, at first as the secret confidant of the Abbé de Montésquiou under a royalist ministry; and then as the avowed agent of the legitimist negotiations at Ghent. he returned from this short political emigration to lend his pen

Portrait of M. Guizot.

to the Richelieu ministry, which was desirous of regenerating royalism by blending it with liberty. He was the private counsellor and confidential publicist of M. Decazes, whom he supported with his friends, M. Villemain, M. de Broglie, M. de Staël, and M. de Barante, partisans of his theories, borrowed from the history of the Stuarts, and ill-adapted to his own country. He was an adept of M. Royer-Collard, of whom he had been the disciple before he became the rival, and created with him the sect of the *Doctrinaires*,—this schism by turns stern and officious of royalism; advancing more and more in liberalism in proportion as the representative spirit guaranteed more victories and more honour to its organs; accepting the disgrace of the court, after the fall of M. Decazes, with as much eagerness as he had canvassed for its favour; falling nobly with his friends, and rising alone by the superiority of his will and his talent in journalism, in literature, and in the professorship of history. He was a laborious writer, an eloquent professor, an indefatigable publicist, and a useful party man, assuming the task of creating theories, ideas, sophisms, and even passions, for the benefit of the thoughtless but ambitious men of his sect; his was a reputation brooding in the shade between the throne and the people, to come forward at the critical moment to support legitimacy or revolution as might best suit his purposes. He was a superb young man, whose countenance displayed neither modesty nor timidity, the graces of youth; but who, with his pensive beauty and his ardent eye, afforded a glimpse of the sombre fire of volition rather than the flame of genius and enthusiasm. Having become the soul of an opposition which was still monarchical, the patronage of the revolutionary opposition at length bore M. Guizot to the foot of the tribune, which he was to ascend, to control, and to fall from amidst such ruin and confusion.

M. Berryer was a young man, at that time unknown except at the bar; the gift of eloquence, the flash of intelligence, the splendour of countenance, the integrity of look, the magnanimity of mind, the cordiality and power of gesture, and the manly and graceful vibration of accent, began to distinguish him amongst his rivals, as one of those prodigies of the tribune

Portrait of M. Berryer.

which burst forth immediately that they show themselves in political assemblies, and whose superiority is accepted with pride for their country, because, being veiled by juvenile candour and modesty, it obtains pardon through character for that talent so humiliating to envy, and so crushing to rivalry. M. Berryer being connected by family and society with the high ranks of aristocracy and letters, towards which the elegancies of life and of thought attracted him by nature and habit, he was the hope of the court, the church, and the monarchy. He was caressed by that party as an unhoped-for favour, and he was looked for in the political tribune as an avenger; the revolution had had its Mirabeau, and Providence owed its Berryer to legitimacy. The King and M. de Polignac had neglected nothing to open the Chamber to him, and he entered it preceded by the favour of the crown and the ministry; miracles were expected from him. Borne on this popularity of the crown, the saloons, and the chateaus,—faithful to the hopes that were founded upon him as upon the oath of his genius,—seduced by his courage and by the dangers of the crisis,—he unfortunately entered the arena, more eager to combat than to make himself a politician, and he was going to speak before he had begun to think.

Such, at that period, was this great orator

XXIII.

The council of ministers, thus recomposed, deliberated on the language it should put in the mouth of the King on the opening of the session. The majority of the ministry recommended an inoffensive and paternal speech, which, by attesting the forbearance of the crown, must aggravate by the contrast the provocations of the Chamber, if it allowed itself to fly out, like the last Assembly, in admonitions and disrespectful insinuations. But the King seemed anxious to commence the struggle. M. de Polignac communicated to him his supernatural confidence in the all-powerful nature of divine majesty; his court, before which he had so often pronounced, since his accession to the throne, expressions of contempt for the revo-

Haughty conduct of the Duchess d'Angoulême.

lution ; even the Duke d'Angoulême, so imbued until then with the wisdom of his uncle Louis XVIII., but now so identified, through filial devotion, with the irritations of his father and his King,—all impelled the sovereign to violent language and measures. To quell the country was the watchword of the court. Even the very features of the King, of the princes, and of the princesses, wore the character of these thoughts. It is asserted that the Duke d'Orleans himself encouraged the King to assume the tone of a master ; in short, nothing but monaces were breathed at the Tuileries.

On receiving the great bodies of the state on the first day of the year 1830, the monarch had been short and disdainful in his replies to the addresses. The Duchess d'Angoulême, surpassing the premeditated coldness of the King, was almost insulting in her manner, at the moment when the judges, whom the court accused of base complaisance for the revolution in some recent sentences in political matters, had presented themselves and were bowing before her. "Pass on, gentlemen!" she said, pointing to the door of the hall of audience. This expression resounded through Paris, as a woman's revenge against the impartiality of justice, and embittered public opinion. The King's speech was looked for with anxiety as the inevitable shock between the throne and the country. This was drawn up by M. de Courvoisier, and was equally dignified and proper up to the last paragraph, which was thus conceived :

"If culpable intrigues should raise up obstacles to my government, which it is not my wish to anticipate, I should find strength to surmount them in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French, and in the love they have always shown for their King."

This sentence, by exhibiting the King alone as the ultimate resource of good order and the supreme arbiter of public peace, seemed to offace the Chambers altogether, and to appeal from them eventually to the superior and final power of the crown. It was contested by M. Guernon de Ranville, the new minister of public instruction, who demanded that the King should associate the constitutional support of the Cham-

Opening of the session of 1830.

bers with his personal agency, in the prevision of the monarchical measures to be adopted. His youth caused the contemptuous rejection of his wise observation. The King determined to show himself a monarch above all institutions in the perspective of coming events.

On the 2nd March he delivered his speech to both Chambers, assembled in the Louvre. Royal majesty was never surrounded by greater civil and military pomp; and the accents of the Prince never displayed greater resolution. The Chambers listened to his words in a state of uneasy meditation, and France, in an attitude of attention, did not at the first moment look upon them as a defiance. The applauses of the spectators made up for the silence of the deputies.

M. Royer Collard, elected president by the three united oppositions, henceforward forming the majority in the Chamber, was confirmed by the King, who could not see an adversary of his crown in a man that had been for so many years the avowed conspirator of legitimacy, and the secret counsellor of his dynasty. The Chamber, but little touched at this condescension, charged MM. de Preissac, De Kératry, Dupont (de l'Eure), Gauthier, Sébastiani, Dupin, De Sade, and Lepelletier d'Aulnay to prepare a draft of an address in reply to the King's speech; the names alone of this committee indicated what its nature would be. They were all members of the defection party, of the left centre, and of the extreme left, or, like M. Etienne, of the Bonapartist party of the hundred days, more personal adversaries of the Bourbon dynasty.

This address was drawn up by M. Etienne, a writer practised in the ability and even the tricks of the habitual style of opposition in the *Minerve* journal, an arsenal of all the passions and all the party tactics against the Bourbons. It disguised wonderfully well its hostile intentions, under the discretion and external probity of its language. Had it been written by a sincere, affectionate, and afflicted royalist, all who were attached to the monarchy might sign it; adulation even towards the King's person would palliate its violation, under the mask of affection, of the royal prerogative in the free choice of his ministers. The opposition had never placed so bold a

hand upon the crown, nor had it ever before so emphatically uttered, by the voice of its organs, a profession of faith so monarchical and so Bourbonian. After the usual reply, word for word, on public affairs, diplomacy, and finance :—

“Sire,” continued the address, “amid the unanimous sentiments of respect and affection with which your people approach you, considerable uneasiness exists in the minds of all, which disturbs the security that France had begun to enjoy, taints the sources of its prosperity, and might, if prolonged, become fatal to its repose. Our conscience, our honour, the fidelity we have sworn to you, and which we will always maintain, impose upon us the duty of revealing to you the cause. The charter, which we owe to the wisdom of your august predecessor, and the advantages of which your Majesty has the firm intention to consolidate, consecrates as a right the intervention of the country in the deliberations on public interests. This intervention ought to be, and in fact it is, indirect, wisely proportioned, circumscribed within limits exactly traced, and which we shall never suffer any one to dare to break through ; but it is positive in its results, for it constitutes the permanent concurrence of the political views of your government with the wishes of your people to be the indispensable condition of the regular progress of public affairs. Sire, our loyalty and our devotion compel us to inform you that this concurrence does not exist. An unjust diffidence in the sentiments and the judgment of France is at present the fundamental opinion of the administration ; your people are afflicted at this because it is insulting to them, they are uneasy because it is threatening to their liberties. This distrust cannot find a place in your noble heart. No, Sire, France no more wishes for anarchy than you do for despotism, she deserves that you should have faith in her loyalty as she has faith in your promises : between those who do not appreciate a nation so calm and so faithful, and us who, with a profound conviction now repose in your breast the grief of an entire people, jealous of the esteem and the confidence of its king, it is for your Majesty's enlightened wisdom to pronounce. The royal prerogatives have placed in your hands the means of insuring between the powers of the

Double meaning of the address.

state that constitutional harmony, the first and essential condition of the strength of the throne and of the greatness of France."

XXIV.

There were two meanings in this address, and the King being well advised might, as he chose, adopt either one or the other. In its form the Chamber did not exceed the constitutional right of the representatives of the nation, in apprising the King that distrust existed between it and his ministers, and that the necessary concurrence of the two powers was suspended. A plain-dealing and a powerful nation could not express this in language more respectful and even more afflicted.

But, in reality, the Chamber, whose only constitutional right, prescribed by the charter, was to give or refuse its votes to the ministers, without otherwise interfering with their selection, violated the charter, usurped the King's prerogative, destroyed his responsibility by destroying his liberty, substituted itself for the crown, dictated imperiously and beforehand his choice of ministers, and transformed a monarchical sovereignty into a parliamentary one.

The King might feign to have understood the address only in the first sense, he might thank and reassure the uneasy but faithful Chamber as to his intentions, and wait until it should declare itself constitutionally, by accepting or rejecting the laws, more or less judicious, which he might present through his ministers. Every true friend of the monarchy, zealous for the preservation of the throne and of liberty, would have counselled the prince to adopt this course. There is always something indecisive between the delicate springs of representative government, which the two powers should leave in a vague state, and which is destroyed when they attempt to define it too minutely. No power, whether it be that of the King, or that of the people, can exist without wisdom, whereas the King and his council had nothing but passion. They hastened to assume the reprehensible sense of the address as a text for an open contest with the country

The address is carried in the Chamber.

The court did not conceal its joy at the opportunity which at length offered itself to the King, of emancipating the crown, or violating the charter. The spirit of madness breathed around Charles X.

The address, which was debated in the Chamber in committee with closed doors, was opposed with energy by M. de Lépine, by M. de Conny, and by M. de Montbel. M. Berryer, the future champion of the ministry, ascended the tribune for the first time, and tearing asunder all the reservations and all the false respect of the committee, showed in all their nakedness the usurpation of the royal prerogative, the audacity concealed under verbal hypocrisy, the reign of two rival powers, the anarchy of the pretensions of the coalition, the Chamber destroyed by the Crown, or the Crown abolished in its greatest prerogative by the Chamber. He was the prophet of the catastrophe; he was resplendent with truth; but this prophet was the advocate of M. de Polignac, and, under the truth of the speech, there was the reality of a counter-revolution, visible to the country under a constitutional disguise in the person of M. de Polignac.

No one could help admiring and trembling, but no one was convinced; M. Berryer descended vanquished from the tribune; and M. Royer-Collard, whose ambiguous oracles were then complaisantly left to the interpretation of both parties, exclaimed, as he pointed towards the young debutant, "It is not only an orator, it is a power which has appeared amongst us!"

But all was vain, the address represented a coalition majority: some voted for it for its honesty, some for its perfidy, some for its respect, and others for its audacity. M. Lorgueil, a moderate and conciliating deputy of the centre, proposed a compromising amendment, which would let the warning remain without violating the prerogative. "No, no," exclaimed M. Guizot; "let us be careful not to weaken our expressions! Truth has already trouble enough to penetrate to the cabinets of kings, let us not send it thither pale and feeble!" The first words of the future statesman were those of a tribune of the people, they pushed the Chamber to excessive obstinacy.

The address was carried by two hundred and twenty-one

General desertion of the ministry.

votes from the left, the left centre, the *doctrinaires*, and the defection party; one hundred and eighty-one members vainly protested against this declaration of war against the royal prerogative. The hour of madness had struck on both sides.

XXV.

The ministry responded to this vote by the immediate dismissal of all the deputies, who were public functionaries, that had voted for the address. M. de Polignac offered M. Berryer the direction general of a great public employment, just taken from one of the voters. "At present," replied M. Berryer, "I am too young in the Chamber to merit such a recompense; next year, perhaps, it may be too much beneath me."

M. de Suleau, a young writer of the *Conservateur*, of classic talent and brilliant prospects, was imprudent and hasty enough to accept a part in this drama, the *dénouement* of which, but too clearly seen, could not be otherwise than fatal to the crown or the charter. Fortune smiles upon young courage: but there is no true courage opposed to good sense. M. de Suleau was pitied for enrolling himself in a sect, without being anything of a sectarian.

All men of any consideration in diplomacy, the administration, or the council of state, abandoned the ministry, openly throwing up their employments. M. de Chateaubriand, determined to hold nothing from a cabinet which was conducting the monarchy to the edge of a precipice, returned from Rome, renouncing his fortune for his fame and conscience sake.

Young and secondary men, of monarchical and constitutional opinions, withdrew with equal foresight from the favours which M. de Polignac's ministry offered for their adhesion. They foresaw, with the whole country, that the names risked in this senseless conflict would be for ever looked upon as fatal in the history of their country.

M. de Marcellus, son to the orator of that name, celebrated by his zeal for the unseasonable joint responsibility of thrones and altars, declined the post of under Secretary of State to

Difficulty of filling ministerial appointments.

Prince Polignac ; he did not consider it a desertion of royalty to refuse the favours of those who were leading it astray. I myself was connected by certain familiarity with the prime minister. Being then on leave of absence in France, the Prince de Polignac wrote to summon me to Paris, to confide to me the direction of foreign affairs. I replied, by excusing myself on account of my youth and insufficiency. The prime minister persisted, however, and I came to Paris. "Well," he said to me with kindness, though reproachfully ; "are you, then, one of those who calumniate me, by accusing me of a wish to overturn the institutions which uphold at once liberty and the throne ? Do you think I am dreaming of a *coup d'état* ?" "No, my prince," I replied, "I do not think that a *coup d'état* is in your thoughts ; but I think that a *coup d'état* is an inevitable fatality of the position which the King and the ministry are taking before the country : and, as I am young, and attached to the dynasty by traditional sentiment and by sincere love for regular liberty, I do not wish to attach my name, however obscure it may be, to the catastrophe of legitimacy and of the charter." The Prince de Polignac then drawing me into his principal cabinet, and walking with me backwards and forwards from one end to the other, during two hours' confidential and impassioned conversation, he protested with an energy evidently sincere, against any idea of overturning, or even of weakening the charter, and conjured me with still greater emphasis to believe in him, and to accept the confidential post which he kept open for me in his ministry. I was grateful and affected, but inflexible ; he was sorry, but not offended.

A few days after this he appointed me minister plenipotentiary to the new King of Greco, at present King of the Belgians. I continued to see the Prince de Polignac familiarly during the negotiations relative to the new kingdom of Greece, which terminated unexpectedly by the refusal of the crown, and the departure from Paris of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.

His language was constantly the same during those long months of agony for France which preceded the *coup d'état*

Singular confidence of Prince Polignac.

upright and intelligent did not meditate any treason against his country, but that the fatality of his ministry was drawing him on towards an extremity, where he would have no other choice than between a humiliation or an act of violence.

I saw the Prince de Polignac again familiarly, after this audience with the King, and up to the termination of his ministry and to the elections which preceded the crisis. He had a degree of confidence so natural, and, so to speak, so mystical, in his mission to resolve all difficulties triumphantly, and to re-seat the church and the throne on the basis of the improved constitution, that, at the moment when everything was tottering under the struggle already begun between the King and the people, having been to take leave of him on going abroad, he kept me to dine with his family, and accompanying me after dinner to the reception room: "Farewell," he said, pressing my hand, "you are going away, you are very happy; when you return you will repose in the shade of what I shall have accomplished." These were the last words I heard from his lips. When I did return there was no longer a legitimate throne; the King Charles X. was in Scotland, and the Prince de Polignac at Vincennes, expiating, not his crime, but his mental blindness

XXVII.

Let us return to the day following the address, whence this episode has diverted the course of the narrative.

The King, in a state of irritation, and the ministers, humbled, held a council on the measures rendered necessary by a conflict thus declared at the very first sitting; * the council exploded with indignation. The Chamber was transformed into an assembly of factious men, the address was a preamble of revolution, the year '89 was about to recommence: such were the observations of the ministers before the deliberation. The

* We must inform the reader that, from this to the end of the history, all the details that we give upon the King's cabinet, and on the secrets of council, are authentic, and drawn from a narrative written, hour after hour, by one of the most veracious of the witnesses and actors in this great drama. His journal, now before us, is the official report of the last months of this reign.

The King's indignation at the address:

King was silent, but his calmness indicated that his resolution was already taken. Previous to any deliberation, the ministers thought it their duty to put to him, respectfully, this question, which it belonged to him alone to answer: "Is the King disposed to yield to the injunction contained in the address, by changing his ministry?" "No," replied the King; "that would be the debasement of my crown, and the abdication of the royal prerogative. Moreover, what ministry could ever act with such a Chamber? When I wished to change the Martignac ministry, whose concessions, so ungratefully received, brought me to the brink of the abyss, I consulted Royer-Collard as to the men who would have the best chance of having a majority in the Chamber. 'None!' he replied, discouraged at the incoherent elements composing the Assembly over which he presides."

M. de Montbel enlarged upon the *dictum* of M. Royer-Collard. All the ministers, with the exception of M. Guernon de Ranville, decided on the dissolution of the Chamber and an appeal to the country, which was to be prepared by a close canvass of the electors, and by giving time for reflection before the elections came on. M. Guernon de Ranville contended, with reason, that the immediate dissolution of the Chamber had this danger, that it would place the whole country, instead of an anarchical Chamber, in apparent opposition with the crown, and face to face with the King. "Let us not understand," he said, "or feign not to understand the address; let us bring forward wise and national laws, and if the Chamber rejects them because they come from the King, let us then dissolve it, but only when taken in the very fact of systematic opposition to the good of the country." He supported his opinion with the boldest arguments against the presumed opinions of the King and his colleagues. He was apprehensive that he had mortally offended the King, but his majesty, at the termination of the sitting, approached, and taking his arm with benevolent familiarity praised his frankness: "You are quite right," he said, "in giving your opinions freely: I love the truth, and I know how to appreciate it. Continue to tell me, not what I wish, but what you yourself think."

Adjournment of the Chamber of Deputies.

It was decided that the Chambers should be first adjourned to the 3rd September, and thus held in suspense, whilst the government should prepare the public mind by the confidential influence of its agents, after which the Chamber of Deputies should be dissolved. The King then, taking a pen from the hand of one of his ministers, wrote himself a draft of the reply that he should make to the address of the deputies. This autograph of the King's, which we here transcribe from the original, now before us, was conceived in the following terms:

• "I have fulfilled my duty as king in receiving the address which you have presented to me. You have learned my intentions from my reply to the address of the Chamber of Peers, and I shall never swerve from them!

"Return to your Chamber, where my ministers will acquaint you with my wishes."

"The Chamber is playing a bold game," said the King, a few moments after, "in attacking my crown. I must speak to these deputies like a monarch."

XXVIII.

M. Royer-Collard having been introduced to the King's cabinet, read the address of the Chamber to him in a voice of mingled emotion and respect. The countenance of M. Royer-Collard, though naturally austere, seemed by the sorrowful expression of his features to correct the ungracious words which his functions of president compelled him to pronounce. The King, affecting majestic disdain, listened to them with signs of impatience, and replied nearly in the terms which he had previously prepared. The order in council, adjourning the Chamber to the 3rd September, was immediately after laid before the Assembly. War being thus declared between the two powers, a truce of a few months was given to the public mind; but the ministry appeared even to its friends unequal to the crisis which it had the boldness to provoke. The *Gazette de France*, the organ of M. de Villèle even in the heart of the King, incessantly recommended the recal of this minister, and denounced the insufficiency of a court government.

Presumption of Prince Polignac.

M. de Villèle thought that M. de Polignac, already shaken in his seat, would either give it up to him, or offer him an alliance; he therefore came to Paris. Secret negotiations were opened on the one side between the friends of M. de Villèle and those of M. de Polignac to unite them, and on the other side between M. de Villèle and M. de Peyronnet, to form together a ministry capable of controlling events. These two old colleagues saw one another with this view without coming to an understanding, for M. de Villèle could with difficulty bear an equal, and M. de Peyronnet could no longer suffer a superior. The King himself, happy at being relieved from parliamentary ministers, and at governing alone, by his own intelligence and by the agency of a favourite, evinced by his coldness to M. de Villèle that his presence at Paris was disagreeable to him. The minister, repulsed by the countenance of the King, withdrew, bearing with him beforehand the mourning sorrow of the monarchy. His departure let loose against the Prince de Polignac the hitherto restrained animosity of the Villèle party. M. de Genoude, who had written some weeks before to the author of this narrative, to reproach him with not believing in the salvation of royalty through the intervention of a minister whom he called the *lion of the monarchy*, daily reproved in his paper the proud incapacity of the Polignac ministry. But the King and M. de Polignac had detached M. de Peyronnet from this league, and the certainty of speedily strengthening the council with the name and intrepidity of this orator gave them a secret confidence against the enterprises of the Villèle party. This confidence of M. de Polignac even appeared to those around him to be independent of human aid, and founded upon supernatural auguries. He went forward as if in a dream, without feeling the asperities of the route, and blind to the precipice before him. On the day when the address was discussed in secret committee, some one having asked him if he had sufficiently considered the difficulties of speaking in public which attended the first appearance of a statesman in the tribune, and if he had prepared a speech for the occasion: "Where is the necessity?" he replied; "the place and the circumstances are sufficient inspiration." He

His determination to recur to extremities.

accordingly ascended the tribune in this belief as to the infallibility of the inspiration, and, of course, could only stammer out a few unintelligible words.

On the day he went to the Assembly to promulgate the order in council for its prorogation, one of his colleagues, affected at the gravity of the crisis, endeavoured to reconsider the matter, and to convince him that the Chamber, being brought back to reason by pacific counsels, might come to an understanding with the crown, and give a majority to the King. "A majority!" the prince quickly replied, thus letting the secret of his breast escape; "I should be very sorry for it, I shouldn't know what to do with it." The advances that were made for peace were, therefore, in his mind, and in that of the King, nothing but grievances sought for to justify an appeal to war.

• BOOK FORTY-EIGHTH.

The first idea of the expedition to Algiers—Different opinions of the King and his ministers on this subject—Momentary project of alliance with the Viceroy of Egypt for this conquest abandoned by the ministry—Internal embarrassments; threatening symptoms; incendiarism in Normandy—Preparations for the African expedition, unfavourable provisions of public opinion and of the superior officers of the fleet—Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg refuses the crown of Greece—Landing of the expedition in Africa; victory of Sidi-Ferruch; taking of Algiers—Effect of this victory on public opinion—Elections of 1830—Resistance of the court; approach of the crisis—Report of M. de Chantelauze—Signing of the orders in council—Marmont promoted to the command of the army of Paris—Impression made on the capital by reading the orders in council—Protests of the journalists; decisions of the tribunals—Agitation—Confidence of the court.

I.

WHILE public opinion, too well foreseeing the snares laid by the government, was preparing, by secret or open organisation, for resistance or aggression, at the moment when the inevitable dissolution of the Chamber should give the signal for electoral agitation; the government was energetically occupied in courting popularity by one of those great external and military undertakings which dazzle the national pride, and constitute an excuse even for tyranny. The expedition to Algiers was the object of the assiduous deliberations of the government. An insult on the part of the Dey of Algiers, who had laid his hand on the French consul, and who obstinately refused the reparation due to the rights of nations, gave a motive to this armed reclamation. A fruitless and onerous blockade had for the last three years been wearing out our squadrons without any result. M. de Villèle was repugnant to violent measures, which might exceed the object in view, raise questions of European policy, agitate cabinets, and disturb the peace. M. de Martignac, more enterprising and more eager for legitimate popularity, had a

Convention with the Viceroy of Egypt.

glimpse of this heroic solution of difficulties, which was also in unison with the chivalrous and national spirit of M. de Laferonnays.

The King was favourable, as we have seen, to the idea of distinguishing his reign by an enterprise at once military, political, and religious: which had frequently tempted Christianity, and before which Austria, Spain, and England, had failed.* He had not, however, come to a final resolution on the subject. There was some hesitation, not as to the extinction of Algerine piracy, but the most effectual means of attaining this object. There was only one worthy of France, if she condescended to measure her strength with one of those Barbary regencies, and this was a naval expedition. But it must be acknowledged, to the prejudice of those admirals who at that time commanded the French navy, that they either exaggerated to themselves, or, from a spirit of contradiction, exaggerated to the government, the impossibilities of the enterprise.

The Prince de Polignac, on entering upon his ministry, did not seem to have felt the whole political bearing of a triumphant expedition, upon which he and the King soon after founded so many hopes. In the course of December, 1829, the president of the council, unknown to his colleagues, had signed the preliminaries of a convention with Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, with the view to relieve the government finally from the expense and difficulties of the blockade, and to avenge France on one barbarian by the agency of another. By this convention, without propriety as regarded France, and without foresight as regarded the East, the Viceroy of Egypt contracted, for the consideration of ten millions of francs and four vessels of the line, to be delivered to him by the French government, to march an Ottoman army along the coast of Africa, by Tripoli and Tunis, to Algiers, to seize upon that regency and to govern it himself, giving pledges for the security of the seas. This was granting to Egypt, already too powerful, the sea-coast of Africa, and exchanging a weak enemy for a formidable and all

* This is a strange mistake with respect to England, Lord Exmouth's bombardment of Algiers having gloriously effected the legitimate objects of his expedition.—TRANSLATOR.

Expedition to Algiers decided on.

powerful one. It was, moreover, humbling the flag and the honour of France to consent to expunge it from the Mediterranean, or allow it to be borne by another power. The first instalments of the millions promised to Mehemet Ali had, in the meantime, been actually sent off to Toulon.

This convention, being at length produced before the King and the council of ministers, excited a general murmur. The Prince de Polignac himself, felt the impropriety of a treaty which made war a bugbear to the country and debased the national dignity. He tore up the convention, recalled the subsidy to Paris, and decided with enthusiasm on a naval and military expedition. General Bourmont, minister of war, was charged with the preparations for carrying it into execution, in concert with the minister of marine.

The principal naval officers being convoked, to furnish information to the King and council, unanimously decided that a landing was impracticable upon the coast of Algiers. Two young officers, M. Dupetit Thouars and another captain of a frigate, ventured alone to combat the objections of their chiefs. They demonstrated that everything was possible to the skill and bravery of a French squadron, and their testimony decided the question.

Marmont solicited the command of the land army ; but the Duke d'Angoulême, the King, and the ministers, gave the preference to Bourmont, in order not to accumulate exclusively all the military distinction of the country on one of the Emperor's generals, and to accustom France to give also their share of services and glory to the generals of the monarchy. The preparations were pressed forward with ability, secrecy, and vigour by the government.

II.

The King and the Duke d'Angoulême were gratified at this prospect of splendour for the new reign, and withdrew their thoughts from the country to rest them on the army.

Meanwhile the time was passing, the fermentation of public opinion gave a presage of desperate elections, and the cabinet

Discussion on the *coup d'état*.

began, for the first time, to contemplate the terrible hypothesis of a *coup d'état*. The King and the Prince de Polignac still masked this last resource from the council, and cloaked it from their own eyes under the 'text of Article 14th of the charter, which authorised the King, in extreme conjunctures, to take all necessary measures for public safety. The Prince de Polignac, in placing before his colleagues the hypothesis of the triumph of the opposition in an appeal to the country, did not hesitate to advise the King to assume the dictatorship, which, in his idea, was decreed to him by this ambiguous article of the charter. M. de Bourmont, like all soldiers, made an offer of his sword, the law supreme against all doubtful ones. M. de Montbel, whose mind was more scrupulous, only consented to it on condition of clear right and absolute necessity, which should justify his policy and his conscience. M. de Chabrol was for deferring its exercise till after the most reiterated attempts of legal government; M. de Courvoisier and M. Guernon de Ranville set aside the proposition as a crime, and declared that, in the hypothesis of a Chamber hostile to the system of government, the duty of the King was to submit to the decision of the country. The minister of the naval department, like the minister of war, was for using force.

This diversity of opinions on so grave a subject, indicated the necessity of certain alterations in the ministry, which should restore the accordance of the council. Meanwhile all definite resolutions were suspended to another time. They all agreed in hoping that the elections, made under the irresistible prestige of victory and conquest at Algiers, might render these fatal measures unnecessary. The King decided that the dissolution of the Chamber should be fixed for the 16th May, the period at which the Duke d'Angoulême would have returned from his journey to the South to superintend the African expedition, and that the electors should be convoked for the 25th June.

III.

M. de Courvoisier, nevertheless, hastened the moment of his retirement from a cabinet, behind which he could too

Incendiarism in Normandy.

clearly perceive a fatal and mysterious directorship. Incendiarism, like that by which the malcontents of Constantinople warned the government of the mute disaffection of the people, threw all Normandy into consternation. No researches of justice or police could succeed in discovering its authors. These crimes, whether private or political, resembling those of the *journées du brigandage*, in 1789, have continued enigmatical to this very day. M. de Courvoisier drew a sinister picture of these presages to the King. Were they sectarians? Were they factious malcontents? Were they incendiaries hired to instil sanguinary madness into the popular mind? The royalists accused the secret societies, the liberals accused the royalists, popular rumour accused the faction of the Jesuits, the court, and Prince de Polignac; but these mutual calumnies cleared up nothing, and embittered all. The people terror-struck, were impelled by fright to intestine agitations; all plagues drive men to despair, and from despair to crime there's but the signal wanted. Regiments of the royal guard were marched into Normandy, and Paris itself was thus left uncovered. The King, whose mind was overcast, seemed to take refuge in violence. The Prince de Polignac affected incredulity or disdain for these symptoms. The nation fixed its gaze upon Toulon, where the preparations for embarking the troops, under the eyes of the Duke d'Angoulême, afforded some diversion from its terrors. The liberal journals, foreseeing and exaggerating to themselves the strength which victory would confer upon the government, became implacable with impassioned detraction in prophesying the ruin of the squadron and the army. Emigration itself had never more completely abdicated its patriotism to gratify its party hatred.

England, on her side, pretending to be alarmed at the ascendancy which a triumph of our navy would give us in the Mediterranean, exchanged note after note with the French government, to ask for explanations on our ulterior projects in Africa. The King and the Prince de Polignac replied to these with the dignity becoming a great people, which takes offence even at being interrogated. They disavowed all actual thoughts of permanent conquest on the continent, but they did not in-

Sailing of the Algerine expedition.

terdict themselves at a future period from the enlargement of occupation which events might render necessary, engaging only to decide upon nothing but in accordance with all the other powers.

IV.

The army having at length embarked, put to sea on the 11th May, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, which hastened to Toulon to salute the flag and pray for its triumph. Since the expedition to Egypt, the Mediterranean had never borne such a fleet upon its waves. France was going to tempt with it one of the noblest hazards of its military destiny. The royalists looked for its return with still greater enthusiasm; for it was to restore to the King the power of saving the monarchy, and the requisite popularity to struggle against the factions. The Duke d'Angoulême on returning from Toulon, inflamed with the general intoxication, brought home again to the King the anticipated assurance of success inspired by the enthusiasm of the troops. "Success is certain," he said to the council, "with an army animated by such a spirit."

Normandy, meanwhile, continued to be agitated with incendiarianism. The ministers who were not in the full confidence of the designs of the King, and the president of the council, were astonished at the resistance made by government to the marching of fresh detachments of the royal guard into those departments; the mental reservation of the King and his minister began to show itself through this unwillingness to leave Paris without troops. A few battalions were, however, at length despatched.

The differences of opinion which had been produced in the cabinet, on account of the extreme measures to be foreseen and prepared with, in the hypothesis of a hostile election, had for some time past decided the King on re-establishing a community of principle in the ministry, and fortifying his council with men of political sentiments conformable to the extremity of the conjuncture, and the ultra-nature of his own opinions. The Prince de Polignac treated his old colleagues with contempt, by negotiating alone, and without the concurrence of

Astonishing self-conceit of Prince Polignac.

those who were to be retained, the admission of several new ministers. After having completed the council by the appointment of M. de Peyronnet, M. de Chantelauze, and M. de Capelle, he went to the residence of M. Guernon de Ranville, who had expressed a wish to follow M. de Courvoisier in his retirement, and after chatting some time on indifferent matters: "Well!" he said, "we have three new colleagues!" "I am rejoiced to hear it," replied the minister of public instruction, happy at the thoughts of being relieved from a responsibility which was undermining his health, and which honour alone prevented him from getting rid of by a voluntary resignation. Having expressed to the Prince the happiness he should feel at returning into private life: "What do you say?" demanded M. de Polignac: "Why you are to stay with us!" He then, for the first time, informed him that M. de Chantelauze was to replace M. de Courvoisier as Minister of Justice, that the home department was to be given to M. de Peyronnet, and that a new department, formed from the dismemberment of the home office, was created for M. Capelle, the King's choice.

Astonished at this self-conceit of the prime minister, who had calculated so much on the subserviency of his colleagues as to connect together, without having once consulted them on the subject, men who were to participate in so high and so collective a responsibility, M. de Ranville insisted on retiring: "Bah! Bah!" exclaimed the Prince de Polignac, smiling, "you are always making objections! But you will see that all will go right, and that we shall understand one another wonderfully well!"

M. de Montbel, being treated with the same flippancy, had yielded only to the request of the King. "What!" exclaimed the latter, pressing him in his arms, and invoking his fidelity with tears, "Are you then going to desert me in the embarrassment and dangers which beset me on every side!" M. de Montbel, whose heart was always his guide, sacrificed his scruples, and devoted his life to the tears of his master. M. de Peyronnet, who had neither justice nor pardon to expect from the liberal party, separated henceforward from M. de Villèle, feeling his courage, and proud of his superiority of

Obstinate perseverance of the King.

eloquence and determination over a cabinet of which he would be the soul, had no refuge but in the extremities of government. The court party in him recognised its statesman; the enterprising boldness of his character encountered difficulties without fear; the court felt itself invincible with him, and compared him to Danton for the resources and intrepidity of his eloquence. The Prince de Polignac, sure of the entire and paternal confidence of the King, introduced M. de Peyronnet without fearing him as a rival. He constituted the thought of the court, M. de Peyronnet the eloquence, and M. de Bourmont the action.

V.

At the first meeting of the new council of ministers, Charles X. opened the business of the day, and traced himself the course of his government. "Gentlemen," said he, "I wish to acquaint you, in a few words, with the system which I mean to follow, and which I have frequently developed to my ministers. My firm intention is to maintain the charter; I do not wish to deviate from it on any point, but neither shall I suffer others to do so. I hope that the future Chamber will be composed of men of judgment, sufficiently the friends of their country to second my intentions; but, should it be otherwise, I shall, without swerving from a constitutional course, know how to make them respect my right, which I look upon as the best guarantee for the public tranquillity and the happiness of France. These are my intentions," he added, with majesty; "it is your duty to second them, each in the ministerial department which is confided to him!"

It was settled that the King, intervening for the first time with the public conscience by a direct and personal appeal to public opinion, should, on the eve of the elections, address a royal proclamation to the electors. M. de Peyronnet presented to the King a list of the presidents of electoral colleges; and the reports of the *prefets* were read on the political feeling of their departments, and the probable results of the approaching elections. These reports, the habitual expression of the illu-

Prediction of the downfall of the Bourbons.

sions of the provincial functionaries, flattered by their subalterns, flattered the ministers in their turn, and the latter flattered the King. News arrived that the fleet, with the army of Algiers on board, had put into port at Palma: the slowness, the indecision, and the murmurs of the admiral, at variance with the enthusiasm and impatience of General Bourmont, the commander of the troops, disquieted the King and his council as to the private feeling of Admiral Duperré, every one of whose doubts and objections met with the applause of the opposition. It was apprehended that so bold an enterprise, which demanded promptitude and secrecy, must fail through the systematic, and perhaps ill-intentioned, timidity of the commander of the fleet. The fate of the monarchy was in the hands of an officer who was suspected by the court of being in communication with the opposition.

The King, acquainted with the unfavourable disposition of England, related to the council the observation of a member of the British parliament, who predicted the approaching downfall of the Bourbons, and their exile to Rome with the last members of the family of the Stuarts.

VI.

Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was then at Paris, destined by the allied powers to reign over Greece; but, not being able to obtain from the French government a loan of sixty millions for his new kingdom, and having at that time failed in his negotiation of marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, quitted Paris at night, after sending to the King his refusal of the crown of Greece. The King, indignant at his abdication of a throne, of which even the perils that surrounded it enhanced the value, decided that silence was the only proper reply to such a resignation, and for such a cause. "He is an ungrateful person, to whom glory offers itself and is refused!" exclaimed the Duke d'Angoulême, who had an instinctive love of enterprise.

The news of the landing of the army at Sidi-Ferruch, and the glorious conquest of Algiers, was received by the King

Success of the Algerine expedition.

on the 23rd June. This was to him, not only the conquest of Algiers, but also the conquest of his own kingdom. He did not doubt that the enthusiasm of this triumph would restore him to the hearts and the votes of the country in the elections then about to commence.

VII.

This expedition, a glorious episode during this internal struggle between the Restoration and the country, forms a history of itself, for which we cannot find room in this narrative; we must, therefore, limit ourselves to an indication of its principal incidents.

The delays of the admiral were nothing but the prudence of the seaman, charged with the responsibility of forty thousand lives and the honour of the fleet. After putting into port at Palma until the threatening symptoms of a tempest should have past, the fleet made the African coast on the 11th June. General Bourmont, whose plan, wisely conceived and bravely executed, consisted in sparing the lives of his soldiers by attacking the fortifications of Algiers on the land side where they were the least formidable, effected his landing about five leagues from Algiers, in a sheltered roadstead, and under the cannon of a tower formerly constructed by the Spaniards. He established his head-quarters and the basis of his operations on a peninsula, surrounded by field entrenchments. Being attacked, before he had completed the landing of his troops and his artillery, by fifty thousand Turco-Arabs, under the command of the Dey's son-in-law, who advanced upon him to drive him into the sea, Bourmont, seconded by his generals Loverdo, Berthezène and d'Escars, received their onset, turned the flank of the Arabs, killed five thousand of them, and marched over their bodies to the summit of the plateau of Staouéli.

But, as if victory was determined to make him purchase the glory of his triumph at the price of his own blood, his son, Amadeus de Bourmont, was killed in this first action. The city thus uncovered, and attacked at the same time, on

Intoxication of the court and clerical parties.

the 4th July, by the artillery on the shore and by the fleet, defended itself in vain with the desperate energy of fatalism. The Dey, enclosed within the castle with the remnant of his defenders, surrendered himself to the mercy of France: his treasures, amounting to fifty millions, concealed within the vaults of his palace, together with seven hundred pieces of cannon, were the spoils of the French army. France thus obtained a footing in Africa, and the future will declare whether she derived strength or weakness from the acquisition. It was, however, at the commencement a pure and brilliant glory but Bourmont wept while he reaped his laurels.

The King, intoxicated with this triumph, endeavoured to communicate his joy to the nation by *fêtes* and recompenses which testified the amount of his happiness. But these *fêtes* were gloomy, these recompenses litigated, this glory almost impeached by the opposition of the press. France, distracted or embittered, did not see that its own internal dangers were inevitably increased by the confidence which this victory gave to the court party. M. de Quélen, Archbishop of Paris, who carried his party spirit into the very precincts of the church, added venom to this disposition of the public mind, by expressions of double meaning but of obvious intention, which he addressed to the King at the entrance of his cathedral. "May your majesty," said he, "come hither soon to thank the Lord for other victories not less brilliant or gratifying!" He had written, some days before, a pastoral letter to his diocesans, in which, speaking of the approaching destruction of the infidels of Africa, he said: "May the enemies of our Lord and King be, everywhere and at all times, served in a similar manner!" Imprudent pontiff! who, by thus prematurely revealing the predominant thoughts of his faction, denounced at the same time those of the court, which he encouraged with his words to dare all that it might lose all. A rostral column was erected at Toulon, on the beach where the army had embarked; Admiral Duperré was elevated to the peerage, and General Bourmont was created a marshal. In thus bravely earning his promotion he lost a son, and was destined never again to find a country.

VIII.

But the whole of France was now a prey to electoral agitation. The King had vainly addressed it in a touching proclamation; but a snare was suspected even in his goodness. "The last Chamber," said the King to his people, "misunderstood my intentions. I had a right to look for its concurrence in effecting the good that I meditated, but this it refused me. As the father of my people it has afflicted my heart, and I am insulted by it as a king. Hasten to repair to your colleges, that they may not be deprived of your presence by reprehensible negligence; let one unanimous sentiment animate you, rally round the same flag; it is your king that demands it,—'t is a father that calls upon you! Perform your duty, I know how to perform mine!"

But all was vain. The elections, that oracle of the people, unintelligible until it is declared, gave the victory almost everywhere to the opposition. France avenged the framers and the voters of the last address, and, in returning them again, gave them additional boldness. The King did not dissemble the depression of his spirits on reading the first names brought by the telegraph to Paris. The hour to fight or yield had sounded for him and his counsellors. They assembled to deliberate on the critical position in which these elections had placed the crown; but no one ventured to take the initiative in the necessary resolutions. M. de Chantelauze, until then one of the most obscure members of the council, a man who, under a modest and timid appearance, concealed the audacity of strong conviction and the obstinacy of the martyr, broke the silence in a speech evidently premeditated with the Duke d'Angoulême and the King; he first proposed having recourse to Article 14th of the Charter. It was known in the council and in public that M. de Chantelauze, a magistrate without any political fame till this moment, nourished, at a distance from Paris, theories of antique power, and ill-timed sophisms of M. de Maistre and M. de Bonald. He was a royalist and a religious man of the past and not of the future, a fluent orator

Extreme measures proposed in council.

and an able writer, long solicited by the Prince de Polignac to make a trial of his theories in a ministry the salvation of the church and the throne ; but, devoid of ambition, fond of obscurity, and trembling at the great responsibilities of conscience, he could never be persuaded to come to Paris to lend his supposed powers to the cabinet, but by the repeated entreaties of the Duke d'Angoulême. This prince had made a tour to Grenoble solely to tempt M. de Chantelauze to a post which was for him a forlorn hope. The deductions of this long speech formally tended to one of these three measures, each of which was a *coup d'état* fixed in thought, but undecided as to method, by the orator :—

Either to suspend entirely the constitutional regime and govern arbitrarily, to the re-establishment of the monarchical system on a solid basis ;

Or, to annul the elections of all the re-elected deputies who had voted for the address of the two hundred and twenty-one.

Or, to dissolve the new Chamber immediately on the termination of the elections, and to have another elected upon a system established by order in council, and combined in such a manner as to secure a majority for the party of the crown.

Finally, to precede the declaration of one or other of these measures by a vast display of the armed force, distributing twenty or thirty thousand men in the four most important cities of the kingdom, Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Rouen, and proclaiming these cities under martial law.

IX.

A gloomy and anxious silence followed this speech of M. de Chantelauze, for the approach of danger brings reflection. But the King and his Ministers had ventured too far to fall back now without weakness and mutual shame. M. de Montbel confined himself to asking if the jurisconsults who were members of the cabinet thought, in their consciences as men and as lawyers, that Article 14th really conferred upon the King the necessary authority for the application of the extreme measures called for in a crisis of public safety. All replied in the affirmative.

Notable scheme of Prince Polignac.

The doctrine of the pre-existence of royal sovereignty was held by all the ministers in deliberation : but a controversy arose as to the choice and application of the means indicated by M. de Chantelauze. M. Guernon de Ranville, whose mind was more under influence than conviction, revolted against the entire suppression of the constitutional regime, which would transform royalty into a dictatorship ; against an arbitrary annulment of the elections, which would be going beyond the 18th Fructidor ; and, finally, against the proclamation of martial law, which would be a declaration of war by the crown against the country. M. de Peyronnet also protested against these resolutions as being excessive, irrevocable, and, in his opinion, premature. He and M. de Ranville, on quitting the council together expressed their astonishment at the promulgation of measures restrained until then, without notice, and which seemed to indicate on the part of M. de Chantelauze a previous and mysterious concert with some court power, or sect, which prompted and coerced him.

X.

A few days after, M. de Peyronnet himself, being more and more convinced of the impossibility of obtaining a majority for the crown in the Chamber, declared himself for an unavoidable recurrence to Article 14th, and read to his colleagues a plan in conformity with this resolution. This plan, a revival of the Assembly of Notables, created, in place of the Chambers, a *Grand Council of France*, nominated by the ministers and presided over by the heir to the throne. This grand council was to settle all questions that should arise between the King and his people. The Prince de Polignac supported this plan, chimerical like all unseasonable systems, with a degree of warmth which seemed to ascribe to him the first conception of the idea. M. de Peyronnet, but ill convinced of the genius of the plan of which he had become the organ, defended it faintly, and ultimately abandoned it altogether. The majority of the council set it aside, as it had that of M. de Chantelauze.

Final resolution of council.

The paths of sophistry are as numerous as the intellects that follow them, but they all end in an abyss : there they are stopt at the first step.

Other plans, proposed at almost every meeting, were dismissed immediately after being discussed ; one alone succeeded, not because it was any better, but because one was wanting, viz. : " To dissolve the new Chamber before it mêt, and appeal to another, essentially modifying the electoral law ; to suspend at the same time the liberty of the press, and to take, in virtue of Article 14th of the Charter, the momentary dictatorship of the Charter itself."

The minister of public instruction alone still persisted that the offensive, which was thus taken beforehand by the government, was at once odious and anticipative ; that an act of a Chamber which did not yet exist, could not sufficiently warrant its dissolution in the eyes of the country ; that names were not crimes ; that it might be reasonably hoped that the defection party, composing at present part of the strength of the revolutionary majority, would detach itself from that body under the manifest peril of the monarchy ; but that, in any case, justice, prudence, and tactics counselled them to wait for an aggression on the part of the Assembly. These motives, which removed from the court all cause for war, deprived it also of the opportunity for triumph, of which it thought itself certain. They could not suit the purpose of men urged by impatience to correct the Charter, and unwilling to let slip the pretext for a dictatorship which was offered to them by the elections. They were unanimously disdained.

The resolution adopted was communicated and submitted to the King on the following day by all the ministers in a body. His majesty acceded to it without hesitation, and supported his approbation with some expressions of conviction, sadness, and irritation. " Understand it well," he exclaimed, " it is not the ministry they attack, but royalty itself : this is the cause of the throne against the revolution, and one or the other must yield. I am an older man, gentlemen, than any of you ; your years do not enable you to see how revolutions and revo-

The three ultimate orders in council.

lutionists proceed ! I have a melancholy advantage over you in age and experience ; and I recollect what happened in 1789, when the first retrograde step my unfortunate brother made before them was the signal for his destruction ! They, also, made protestations of love and fidelity to him ; they, also, merely asked him to dismiss his ministry : he yielded, and he was lost ! They pretend, at present, to attack none but you ; they say to me : dismiss your ministers, and we shall agree ! Gentlemen, I shall not dismiss you ! because in the first place you have my confidence and affection, and also because, if I dismissed you, they would finish by treating us all (pointing to his son, the Duke d'Angoulême, at his side), as they treated my brother ! “ No,” said he, repeating his words with redoubled energy, “ let them conduct us to the scaffold, for we shall fight, and they shall only kill us with arms in our hands !

“ Therefore, let us proceed according to your resolution !” he added, in an accent which displayed fatality as well as courage.

XI.

M. de Peyronnet presented the drafts of three orders in council in conformity with the decisions of the previous evening ; the first suspending entirely the liberty of the press, the second announcing the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and the third modifying dictatorially the law of elections, and recalling the first electoral dispositions contained in the Charter, which had been modified by successive organic laws into the actual code of elections ; so that arbitrary power appeared, in this instance, under the mask of a return to the constitution.

These internal debates of the council in the royal cabinet were rendered still more disagreeable by the comparison, drawn by the King and his son, between the glory of their arms abroad, and the extremities to which their government was reduced at home. Every sitting brought to the King a triumph and a mortification, his heart was alternately raised and depressed on the same day ; and with the same hand he signed thanks and rewards to his troops, and measures of distrust and reproaches to his subjects. Though his mind was resolute and

The preamble to the dictatorship.

inflexible in the idea he had embraced, of reforming the Charter and upraising again the church and the crown, he was moved, tragical in expression, and sometimes affected even to tears. The Duke d'Angoulême piously modelled his countenance and language on those of his father; he looked upon himself as a soldier, who answers with his sword for the honour and the will of his chief; and he believed himself to be identified with the army since the war in the South, of 1815, and the subsequent war in Spain.

Monsieur d'Haussez, the secretary of the Admiralty, having proposed to decorate the triumphal arch *l'Etoile* with *bas-reliefs*, cast from the cannon taken at Algiers, the Prince, to whom the city of Paris had dedicated this arch on his triumphal return from Madrid, took offence at a new consecration of the monument, which would efface his glory, and that of the army of Spain. But these vain rivalries of fame caused but a brief diversion in the thoughts of the court and the ministers. They drew up, they discussed, and they decided on mysteriously, all the details of the settled plan of proceedings. Monsieur de Chantelauze, the most personal and confidential organ of the wishes of the King and the Duke d'Angoulême, had become, by analogy of ideas, the publicist of the *coup d'état*, and, while setting forth the wishes of the King, he proclaimed his own. His over-excited conscience imparted the emphasis of a creed to his opinions. On the 24th July, he read the analytical preamble of the dictatorship, a work slowly and ably elaborated, and which the ministers conceived to have been secretly approved of beforehand by the King, because it was decided, before it was read, that this preamble *should not be discussed*.

"Sire," said Monsieur de Chantelauze, "your ministers would be unworthy of the confidence with which they are honoured by your Majesty, if they delayed any longer in placing before your eyes a cursory view of our internal position, and of representing to your superior wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

"At no period during the last fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more grave and more afflict-

Condemnation of the press.

ing aspect. In spite of a material prosperity unexampled in our annals, signs of disorganisation and symptoms of anarchy are visible on almost every point of the kingdom.

“ The successive causes which have concurred in weakening the springs of monarchical government tend, at present, to alter and impair its nature ; declined from its ordinary strength, authority, whether in the capital or in the provinces, no longer struggles but with disadvantage against faction ; pernicious and subversive doctrines, loudly professed, spread and propagate themselves through every class of the population ; disquietudes, too generally accredited, agitate all minds, and disturb the peace of society. On all sides pledges for the future are demanded from the present.

“ An active, ardent, and indefatigable malevolence is working to sap the foundations of good order, and to ravish from France the happiness she enjoyed under the sceptre of her kings. Skilful in turning to account the public discontent, and in exciting the hatred of all, it fomented amongst the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards government, and seeks to sow in every direction the seeds of intestine trouble and of civil war.

“ Experience, Sire, speaks with greater force than theory. Doubtless, enlightened men, whose good faith, moreover, is not suspected, carried away by the ill-understood example of a neighbouring nation, have imagined that the advantages of a periodical press would counterbalance its inconvenience, and that its excesses would be neutralised by those of an opposite character. But it has not turned out so, the proof is decisive, and the question is now settled in the public conscience.

“ At all epochs, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is its nature never to be otherwise than, an instrument of disorder and sedition.

“ What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be adduced in support of this truth ! It is to the violent and incessant action of the press that we owe the too sudden and too frequent variations in our internal policy. It has never permitted the establishment in France of a regular and stable system of

Its tendency to disorder and sedition.

government, nor has it suffered any attempt to introduce into all the branches of public administration the improvements of which they are susceptible. All the ministries since 1814, though formed under varied influences, and directed by opposite impulsions, have been all alike subject to the same hostility, to the same attacks, and to the same assaults of unbridled passions. Sacrifices of all descriptions, concessions of power, and alliances of parties—nothing could shield them from this common destiny.

“The press has thus thrown into disorder the most upright minds, shaken the most firm convictions, and produced, in the midst of society, a confusion of principles which can be made instrumental to the most fatal attempts. It is by creating this anarchy in doctrines that it leads to anarchy in the state.

“We cannot qualify in milder terms the conduct of the opposition journals in more recent circumstances. After having provoked an address impinging on the prerogatives of the crown, they have had the boldness to establish, as a principle, the re-election of the two hundred and twenty-one deputies whose work it was. And though your Majesty repelled this address as offensive; though you openly blamed the refusal it contained of concurrence for the public good; and though you had announced your unshaken resolution to defend the rights of your crown so openly compromised, some periodical papers have not taken these things into consideration; but, on the contrary, have assumed it as their duty to perpetuate and to aggravate the offence. It is for your Majesty to decide if this bold attack should remain any longer unpunished.

“The periodical press has not evinced less ardour in persecuting, with its envenomed shafts, religion and the priesthood. It attempts, and always will attempt, to eradicate from the hearts of the people every germ of religious sentiment. And doubt not, Sire, that they will succeed in this, by attacking the foundations of faith, by tainting the springs of public morality, and profusely lavishing derision and contempt on the ministers of God.

“The insufficiency, or rather the fruitlessness, of the precautions established by the laws now in force, is demonstrated

The King is urged to extreme measures.

by facts ; and it is equally so demonstrated that public safety is compromised by the licence of the press. It is time, it is more than time, to put a stop to its ravages.

"Listen, Sire, to that lengthened cry of indignation and terror that springs from every point of your kingdom. Men of peace, men of property, and friends of good order, raise their supplicating hands to your Majesty. All beg of you to preserve them from a return of the calamities which their fathers or themselves have had to lament so bitterly. These alarms are too real not to be listened to, these prayers are too well justified not to be received.

"We must not deceive ourselves. We are no longer in the ordinary circumstances of representative government. The principles upon which it has been established could not have remained intact in the midst of political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated even into our laws, is endeavouring to substitute itself for legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of its journals and the concurrence of numerous associations. It has paralyzed, as much as lay in its power, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the crown, that of dissolving the elective chamber. By this, of itself, the constitution of the state is shaken, and your majesty alone possesses the power of restoring and confirming it upon its basis.

"The right, as well as the duty, of assuring its maintenance is the inseparable attribute of sovereignty. No government upon earth could long exist if it had not a right to provide for its own safety. This power is pre-existent to the laws themselves, because it is inherent in the nature of things. These, Sire, are maxims which are supported by the sanction of time, and the admission of all European publicists.

"But they have another and a still more positive sanction, that of the Charter itself. Article 14th invests your Majesty with ample power, not, certainly, to change our institutions, but to consolidate and render them more unchangeable.

"Imperious necessity will no longer brook delay in the exercise of this supreme power. The moment has arrived for recurring to those measures which are comprised in the spirit of

Manifesto of the Court and Church against liberty.

the Charter, but which are out of that legal order, every resource of which has been fruitlessly exhausted.

"Your ministers, Sire, who have to answer for the success of these measures, do not hesitate to propose them to you, convinced, as they are, that strength will ultimately side with justice."

XII.

This preamble, as will be seen, was the report truly and eloquently traced of the great suit pending in all ages between authority and freedom. The King, the church, and the court; M. de Chantelauze and his colleagues, such as M. de Maistre, M. de Bonald, and their school, minds at once absolute and feeble, renouncing its solution by the genius of discussive governments, the majority cut it, like the Gordian knot of modern times, at first with the sceptre, afterwards with the sword. It was the manifesto of the two authorities, royalty and the church, declaring themselves in open and bold revolt against the spirit of the age, that is to say, against the Deity himself by whom that spirit is inspired: it was a species of monarchical catholicism, giving, as the supreme rule of political affairs and opinions, the ultimatum of royalty; it was, in short, a sort of regal interdict laid on opinion, like that which the sovereign pontiff of Rome formerly laid upon reason. But the interdict of the church, which only subjects the conscience, might willingly be accepted by faith, which disputes nothing; whereas the royal interdict of M. de Chantelauze could not be accepted by liberty, which disputes everything. His maxims constituted the code of the servility of the human mind. With these principles one might still govern, but, neither move, act, or progress. The life of the King was comprised in that of the people, the nation was absorbed in the government; the world became petrified to avoid the progress and the excesses of its own motion.

XIII.

We must, however, confess, with the impartiality of history, which dispenses with truth to favour no opinions, that the

Final decision of the Council.

grievances set forth in this preamble of the orders in council against the abuses of the press and the hostility of public opinion, were only too well founded. The new faculty which printing has given to thought and to freedom had often gone astray, as it often will do, again before it attains the regularity and equilibrium of a divine faculty—capable of being, like the other faculties of the mind, entirely left to itself under the sole guardianship of its own morality. There are regulating laws for all the intellectual faculties of man, because all his faculties are powers, and all these powers have occasion for limits either in the laws, or in the conscience, or in morals. But in free countries these laws spring from the will and wisdom of the people, through rational deliberation, to restrain their own abuses; instead of being arbitrary prescriptions promulgated by absolute power to shelter itself against the operation of reason. The *coup d'état* of M. de Chantelauze against the press, was not only levelled against journalism in France, but against the human mind.

XIV

After the reading of this preamble to the orders in council, another night was given to the reflections, or the better feelings, of the King and his ministers, who were going to devote their names, their lives, and their memories to this irrevocable declaration of war against liberty.

The fated day, the 25th July, at length arrived. The night which had brought reflection to the mind had not made the courage falter. Conspiracies themselves have their point of honour, which predominates at the critical moment over the conscience, and which compels men to accomplish with heroism what they have begun with hesitation. Retreat at the moment of execution would have appeared a defection to their accomplices; the ministers, therefore, all repaired to St. Cloud in the morning, and the last council opened before the King and his son. Although the secret of the preceding deliberations had been faithfully kept by men who, by a single indiscretion, might ruin the King and compromise their own heads, a certain dull

Warning by the Baron de Vitrolles.

and unquiet rumour, the presage of great events, pervaded the interior of the palace. There are mysteries which transpire of themselves; events have their physiognomy, which court observers know how to read, and from which they form their own conjectures.

The Baron de Vitrolles, severed since the commencement of the reign of Charles X. from the intimacy of his prince, and exiled to an honourable but secondary diplomatic post in Italy, was at this time in Paris, attentive to the varying breeze of court politics. Approaching as close as he possibly could to those state secrets which were not confided to him, visiting the chiefs of the different parties, listening to the rumours of the city and the whisperings of the palace, his instinct in mysteries revealed to him, even by the silence which reigned around the King, a plot about to explode. He was, therefore, at St. Cloud before the ministers. On issuing from the chapel where the King, attended by them, commenced by prayer the labours of the day, M. de Vitrolles addressing and drawing aside the minister of public instruction, with the view of ascertaining his sentiments, or the intention of putting him on his guard, said to him in a low voice: "I do not ask you for the state secret, but I conjure you to reflect well before you take decisive measures. The moment is not well chosen; an extreme fermentation agitates Paris, and a popular movement may be apprehended." M. de Ranville, astonished at this official information, so entirely at variance with the confidence of M. de Peyronnet, the minister directed to study the state of public opinion, shortly after interrogated M. Mangin, préfet of the Paris police, and spoke to him about the symptoms observed by M. de Vitrolles.

"The préfet, who was the eye and the hand of the court party on the movements of the day, smilingly reassured the minister: "I suspect," he said, "the reasons that have caused your anxiety; but all I can say to you is this, that, whatever you do, Paris will not stir; therefore proceed boldly, I'll answer with my head for the immobility of Paris!"

Indecision of Charles X.

XV.

The door of the royal cabinet was closed, and the King desired to hear the opinion of his counsellors. This was a complete repetition of the *coup d'état*. Monsieur de Chantelauze first read his preamble, which was frequently interrupted by the ardent approbation of the King and the Duke d'Angoulême. These unfortunate princes found in this report against the press, the justifiable and accumulated vengeance for the sleepless nights it had given them for so many years. The hand which insulted, before it crushed it, appeared to them the hand of divine retribution.

The reading being finished, and the applause exhausted the Prince de Polignac, as president of the council of ministers arose, and presented for the King's signature the four orders in council, already silently agreed to by the ministers. The future fate of his dynasty appeared at that critical moment to Charles X. in these four crimes against the charter, considered by him as necessities and virtues, long meditated, patiently waited for, comprising the destiny of his old age, of his son, of his niece, and of his grandson, and presented to his trembling hand by the man of his heart. His countenance was pale and overcast with conflicting thoughts. He laid aside the pen, suspended his signature, the irrevocable decree of his destiny given by his own hand. A profound silence reigned for a moment in the cabinet. Some of the ministers trembled, others secretly hoped that the King, still undecided, would himself relieve them from a responsibility which they were incurring more through devotion to him than conviction. The King—with his head leaning on his hand, with which his eyes were covered, as if to collect all his vacillating thoughts within his breast, the pen taken up again in the other hand, suspended and motionless at a little distance from the paper—remained for five minutes in the attitude of scrupulous doubt which seeks for a solution in intense thought: then raising his head, uncovering his eyes, and as if calling heaven to witness, with a

He signs the orders in council.

long and fixed regard; "The more I think of it," said he, with a sorrowful but conscientious accent to his ministers, "the more I am convinced that it is impossible for me to avoid what I am doing!"

And he signed!

And the ministers countersigned.

The silence was unbroken amongst the actors in this momentous scene, except by the noise of the King's pen upon the paper, and by the respiration which at length relieved his breast, which had been so long oppressed with doubt as to an act irrevocably cast on fate.

XVI.

It was decided, in order to avoid any possible retraction of a resolution without appeal, or any rumour of the measures which were destined at once to surprise and strike, that the *Moniteur* of the following day should contain the orders in council. The Prince de Polignac, who conducted the war department in the absence of Marshal Bourmont, being interrogated on the military dispositions made to suppress a popular commotion which was to be apprehended, answered for everything. "There is not," he assured the King, "any popular movement to be apprehended; but, in any event, Paris is furnished with sufficient force to crush any rebellion, and to guarantee the public tranquillity." It was eventually decided to give to Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, the command-in-chief of the military force of Paris, should the sedition extend to a revolt, but no previous communication was made to the marshal, either as to the *coup d'état*, or the command that was conferred upon him without his knowledge; so that the monarchy, risked by temerity at such a crisis, was left to the defence of chance.

XVII.

Marshal Marmont was one fatality in another. He was an intrepid officer in the field, and an able tactician, but indolent

Warnings against Marmont,

and lax in details, without resources in extremity; connected with the Bourbon dynasty by the unpardonable misfortune of his defection in 1814, but trailing this misfortune after him as a reproach, and seeking incessantly to obliterate his military errors, by rendering services to the liberal cause; caressing, and caressed by, the opposition; temporising between the court and the people; not much liked by the soldiery, in whose eyes his name was laden with the just anger of the Bonapartists, and the unjust malediction of the country: under these circumstances Marmont, of all the generals-in-chief, was the least proper to sacrifice himself a second time, and to risk, in a final crisis, a glory and a devotion disarmed beforehand by fate.

On quitting Paris, Marshal Bourmont had warned Prince Polignac against the idea of confiding the fate of the monarchy to Marmont. "He is brave and trustworthy," said Bourmont to the Prince, as he got into the carriage to proceed to Toulon, "but he is not fortunate. Constant ill-luck in war, is not only an evil star, as the soldiers say, but an obscure indication of the absence of one or other of those great qualities, natural or acquired, which constitute the warrior. Moreover, Marmont, anxious to regain the popularity he has lost in the field, will be unconsciously drawn into compromises which, however good in peace, are fatal when once the sword is drawn against the people. Give me an assurance that you will wait for me to fight the battle of the monarchy, if there must be a battle; but in case events should come upon you too rapidly, and the King should be in peril before my return, recollect you must not confide his defence to Marmont!"

This counsel attested the foresight, equally politic and military, of the conqueror of Algiers. But the Prince de Polignac, who believed too much in his own inspiration, and in the miraculous protection of Providence to listen to human counsels, precipitated the event, in the belief that he was equal to the conjuncture, and nominated to the command the only man whom the foresight of his colleague had declared to be unfit for it.

General Curial, whose heart was attached to Charles X., on departing for the retirement in which he died, had also

Who is invested with the chief command.

said to the King: "I am come to take leave of my sovereign, and my life at the same time, and the few short days now left of my existence release me from any other thoughts than the profound and personal attachment that I have for your Majesty. Permit my affection to offer you one last counsel. An extensive, active, and indefatigable conspiracy is sapping your throne; should it break out, and should the government be compelled to employ force to defend the crown, do not place implicit confidence in Marmont, he has too much to redeem from the revolutionary party, and the chiefs of the factions have found means to tie up his hands." The discontent excited in the breast of Marmont by the preference given to Bourmont in the command of the Algerine expedition, must also have disinclined the marshal to the desperate defence of a government which had thus neglected him. Bourmont on departing, however, had softened this slight to the ambition of his colleague, by a splendid present out of the funds for the war. Marmont, whose fortune was always inadequate to his generous prodigality, his adventurous enterprises, and his pleasures, lamented to a friend the deplorable necessity to which he was reduced, of receiving munificence or indemnity from the hand of a rival, who had deprived him of so fine an opportunity of acquiring fame and fortune: such was the man to whom the monarchy entrusted itself in the day of its extremity. Marmont was incapable of betraying it, but any one else had been more calculated to save it.

XVIII.

Whether by mental fatalism, or an affectation of security, to give to such enormous measures the appearance of an ordinary act of government, no precaution of force or discretion had been taken prior to the publication of the orders in council. These were sent for impression to the *Moniteur*, as if they had been a mere order of the day, for a military review, or a court ceremonial. M. Sauvo, the director of this collection of the public acts, a man whose long experience of public opinion in the functions he had exercised since the Constituent Assembly,

First astonishment at the orders in council.

while passing through all the catastrophes of the revolutions, had imbued him with an accurate perception of political consequences, changed colour as he read the documents addressed to him. In spite of the passive and mechanical nature of his functions, he trembled to lend his types and presses to the perpetration of an act, which, at the first glance, he looked upon, as a crime, or a proof of madness, on the part of the government; but, in either case, as his certain ruin. He refused to print these documents before he had himself ascertained their authenticity; and he hastened to the council office to avert, by invoking the mature reflection of the ministers, the ruin he foresaw for his country. He was, however, ordered to obey; and though his forebodings were of a gloomy nature, they were surpassed by the reality.

XIX.

The orders in council, printed that night in the *Moniteur*, took Paris in the morning by surprise. The people, occupied at that splendid season of the year with their traffic, or their amusements, and who learn but tardily the laws or government ordinances through the most popular papers, were scarcely conscious of the promulgation of the orders in council, or paid but a passing and thoughtless attention to them. The commotion began by a whispering in the streets and public gardens, amongst men of fortune and leisure, who have time and inclination to indulge in mental and political passions. The earliest readers of the *Moniteur* accosted others, though unknown to them, who did not as yet suspect the explosion of the night. These exchanged opinions, mingled their anger and astonishment, and engaged in animated but whispered conversation. Other passers-by, attracted by the eagerness of their gestures and the consternation in their features, stopped, listened, and swelling the groups, retired at length with mute signs of indignation or of terror; or else, dispersing into other quarters, they went on spreading the alarm, and multiplying the public rumours.

In a few hours the news had raised all Paris, as if with

Increasing rage of the people.

a sudden start from sleep. The beauty of the season, and the heat of the day still further increased the contagion of the general sentiments: the agitation perceptible in the streets called out from their shops, or brought down from their lodgings, curious or uneasy citizens, and crowds were formed at every door. The whole city was afoot; but, although it was gloomy, the aspect of Paris did not as yet reveal a coming storm.

XX.

There is a necessary interval for moral sensibility, as well as for physical sensation, between the blow and the reaction: this interval is called stupor. A wound being inflicted on any part of the body, its violence even momentarily deadens sensibility, but the blood soon flows, the pain is felt, the hand is applied to the spot, and the cry is uttered—this is the reaction. It is the same with great political impressions, they are not felt in all their force until they have been considered; and the masses are slow at this consideration. But the instinct of men, subject to the ebullition of public passions, outruns this consideration, and flies on the first instant to the attack, to the defence, to the tribune, to the public journal, to sedition, or to arms.

The first who were struck by the *coup d'état* against the press were the leaders of the opposition, the writers, the journalists, the working men of thought, editors, compositors, foremen, printers, newsvenders; a class interested by intelligence and profession in defending its talent, its influence, its popularity, its trade, its salary, its bread; comprising, in Paris, upwards of thirty thousand men, the leaven of the masses by its superior intelligence and enthusiasm, an army of agitation, to deprive which of liberty was to deprive it of life. This agitated and agitating class was the first to feel the excitement, and hastened to its journals and its workshops, demanding counsel from its leaders of opposition, vengeance from its tribunes, and support from the people.

Diagust of Marmont at his appointment.

XXI.

At noon, the news had reached the very lowest classes of the population ; but they awaited, without showing as yet any signs of war, the example and the watchword of the upper classes. The latter trembled ; and the public funds—the cipher-symptom of the secret confidence or distrust of the citizens—fell at the Exchange—the market of incomes—as at the announcement of public danger. The bankers thought they felt the tottering of their fortunes, acquired and preserved under this government, which, though they were willing to insult, they would not suffer to destroy itself. Men of literature and science who wished to reconcile the leisure of public peace with the popularity, when free from danger of opposition, were inflamed with terror still more than with real indignation. Marshal Marmont, who was a member of the Academy of Sciences, hastened thither, as if to protest beforehand against the military part in the drama to which the crime of the ministers was, perhaps, about to condemn him. “Well !” he exclaimed, with a gesture of malediction upon the lunatics of the council ; “the ordinances have made their appearance. The wretches ! I said it would be so ! In what a horrible position have they placed me ! I must, I suppose, draw my sword in support of measures I detest !”

XXII.

The people seemed to await the chiefs of faction, and the chiefs of faction to await the people. It is almost always chance, but rarely courage, that takes the initiative in great events. No one on the present occasion ventured to assume it, so much did the people apprehend the preparations for surprise and military coercion still concealed, but invincible, on the part of the government. The day was thus passing in fruitless expectation ; but, to let it terminate without doing something, would be an avowal by the leaders of faction of cowardice or want of power, while the people would thus be

Solemn protest of writers and journalists

accustomed to see other suns rise with impunity on the criminal attempt of royalty.

Some journalists, men of deliberation rather than of action, wished at least, in order to protest in behalf of the laws, to avail themselves of the shadow of the laws which still subsisted. Thus enclosed within the inviolable limits between legality and revolt, they drew up a proclamation to the people, which appealed, with discretion, but still with energy, from violence to right, and which defied the government to violate with impunity the liberty of the press. Citizens, but not yet tribunes, they invoked in this document, not the aid of arms, but of the law courts. The principal signers of this protest who, like Hampden and Sidney, were no longer afraid to set their signatures against tyranny, were MM. Thiers and Carrel, whose names had been rendered popular by the *Histoire de la Revolution*, and the editing of the *National*; M. Coste, conductor of the *Temps*, a writer in general of discretion, but capable of unexpected resolution; M. Baude, a man of reflective courage, more calculated for the combat than the council; after whom were all those who, for the last fifteen years had advocated in the press either the republican or Bonapartist factions, or the faction of the Orleanists, or liberty.

XXIII.

The offices of the public journals having thus become so many centres of deliberation and resistance, were crowded towards the close of day by all those impassioned men,—deputies, electors, writers, bankers, journalists, private individuals, factious or patriotic, seditious or liberal, students, working men,—whom the whirlwind that precedes public emergencies rouses the first in a capital. Permanent clubs were constituted in many places, while officious emissaries established a correspondence between them in all the quarters agitated by the political breeze. Some of them, like M. de Schonen, an ally of M. de Lafayette, pushed their indignation to the extremity of sobbing, and offering their blood in the cause of freedom; others, like M. de Laborde,—a tumultuous and variable

Preparations for the revolution.

spirit,—demanding an appeal to the people, the last resource of desperate causes ; others again, like M. Villemain, a classical orator, now become popular with enthusiasm, exhorting the citizens to civic virtue ; or, like M. Casimir Périer, the fiery banker, angrily recommending patience and forbearance, to give the monarchy time for repentance ; and finally, some, like M. Thiers and M. Mignet,—an inseparable pair in politics and friendship,—preserving the coolness of cautious men, even in the heat of the most imminent sedition, arranging at the same time loopholes for the monarchy and the opposition to escape by, and persisting in not fighting for the laws but with legal arms. Some journals, adopting this view of the matter, called upon the tribunals to give judgment between the laws and the orders in council.

M. de Belleyne, president of a competent tribunal, did not hesitate, though a royalist, to give his opinion as a magistrate in favour of the law against arbitrary power. His decision armed, on the following day, the resistance of the journalists with the sanction of judicial authority, while, at the same time, it legalised the right of armed insurrection.

Night fell upon these different cabals without any serious explosion having alarmed the ministry, or divulged the public agitation. It was employed by the agitators in distributing the manifestoes of the journalists, and in convoking for the following day the people of the Faubourgs and the workshops, for the defence of the charter and vengeance on the *coup d'état*. The bankers, the manufacturers, and the great employers of Parisian industry, who had in their pay the elements of a revolution before which they were so soon themselves to tremble, dismissed their workmen to swell the civic agitation on the following day, and to give the additional excitement of hunger to the sleeping fury of the people.

M. de Polignac congratulated himself on a day which had only produced a murmur ; and, whether from real confidence or affected disdain for a public commotion, so superficial and already evaporated, Charles X., more attentive in appearance to his pleasures than to political events, departed before day-break for a royal hunting party in the forest of Rambouillet.

BOOK FORTY-NINTH.

Preparations for the struggle—Aspect of Paris and of the court—Criminal informations against newspapers—Resistance on the part of the management of the *Temps*—Collisions—First discharges of musketry round the Palais-Royal—Rising of the Faubourgs—Indecision of the parliamentary opposition—Military arrangements of Marmont—Advance of the troops—Fighting commences in all directions—Attitude of the troops of the Line—Deliberations at the Hotel Laffitte—Negociations with Marmont: M. Arago—Anxiety and agitation at St. Cloud—Success of the insurrection: M. de Lafayette assumes the direction of it—Conferences in the apartments of the King: MM. de Semonville, De Vitrolles, and D'Argout—Taking of the Louvre—The people in possession of Paris—Marmont at St. Cloud.

I.

THE day of the 27th had thus passed away, without anything revealing to the ministers the events veiled beneath the coming night. Nothing had been manifested beyond a gloomy aspect throughout the city; during the morning excitement in the newspaper offices, and in the closets of the political leaders; in the middle of the day, and in the evening, a few popular processions on the Boulevard, amid cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" Nothing beyond a few insults, a few stones directed against the windows of M. de Polignac, the minister for foreign affairs, where the cabinet council was assembled; or the killing of a gendarme in a popular disturbance in the Place du Palais Royal, while he was endeavouring to disperse the groups of people.

Marshal Marmont being informed in an ordinary letter, received by him very late in the day, of his nomination to the command-in-chief of the troops, waited at ten o'clock in the evening upon the Prince de Polignac, to concert measures with him as president of the council. The prince, after confirming his nomination, directed him to proceed next morning to St. Cloud, where the King had reserved to himself the pleasure of conferring this exalted proof of his confidence with his letters of

Paris proclaimed in a state of siege.

instruction. The saloon of the ministers was filled in the evening with the principal instigators of the *coup d'état*, who came to applaud the government for its happy daring, and with the crowd of parasites, who take their stand at the gate of all rising powers, offering beforehand their felicitations and their enthusiasm at the success of events, be the events what they may, so as to claim their own share of good fortune.

There were some, however, of the ministers whose hearts were sinking within them at the sullen aspect of the people, and the excitement of the Boulevards, the hollow murmuring of which they had heard from the windows of M. de Polignac ; who received with no slight embarrassment these felicitations of their flatterers, and anxiously put the question to themselves, whether what they beheld was the termination of insurrection, or the commencement of revolution. The troops had returned to their barracks, the streets were deserted and silent. There was nothing to indicate a city about, in a few short hours, to burst forth in an enormous explosion.

II.

The streets began to fill slowly after sunrise. Up to mid-day the popular emotion appeared to be lulled ; but an act had been accomplished by the journalists, signers of the protest, before which the government must either yield, or become more rigid than before. To yield, was to acknowledge themselves defeated ; to resort to rigour, was to give the people at once the cause and the signal for open resistance. The government resolved upon rigour ; and, in order to supply an excuse for the violence offered to the laws, and to the administrators of the laws who had pronounced in favour of them by the voice of M. de Belleyme, they had, during the night, declared Paris in a state of siege.

A commissioner of police, accompanied by gendarmes, had presented himself in the Rue de Richelieu, at the door of the office of the *Temps*, to seize the presses of that journal containing the protest. M. Coste and M. Baude, resolved to supply, in their own persons, an argument for legitimate

Seizure of the *Temps* printing presses.

revolt to the people as victims of violence, descended with their friends and workmen into the court-yard, and met the summons of the officer with a refusal. "You come to break our presses in the name of arbitrary power," said M. Baude, with vehement energy, to the agents of the government; "we, on our part, summon you, in the name of the law, to respect them." These words, uttered in the solemn accents of deliberate resolution, the pale and eloquent features of the speaker, the large group by which he was surrounded, the war of words that arose, and grew fiercer and fiercer, between the agents of despotism and the citizens,—defenders of their hearths and homes and of the law—arrested the attention and stayed the steps of the passengers, and a large crowd soon collected, full of emotion, in the Rue de Richelieu, contiguous to the Boulevard. The commissary of police hesitated for a while, uncertain whether he officially represented law or crime; but, at length, having resolved to obey those who immediately employed him, he sent for a locksmith to force the doors of the printing-office. The locksmith, dissuaded from compliance by the crowd he passed through on his way, refused to apply his implements to the violation of a citizen's domicile, and withdrew amid the plaudits of the multitude. Another replaced him, but his tools were taken from him by the crowd; at length, a third came, a mechanic employed by the government to forge the chains of the galley-slaves, and, being constrained to obedience by necessity, he forced the doors of the printing-office, and the presses were seized, amid cries of indignation and vengeance on the part of the assembled multitude, which then dispersing through the Boulevards, spread the intelligence of the outrage from group to group, as that of an act appealing for vengeance to the heart of every citizen.

Upon this intelligence, the people, now deprived even of the organ of their protests and their murmurs, assembled, from hour to hour, more numerous, in dense masses, from the Place de la Bastille to the Place de la Madeleine, from the Hôtel de Ville to the Colonnade of the Louvre. Columns of the people advanced, halted, then slowly renewed their course in the broad populous streets parallel with the Boulevard, un

Commencement of the firing.*

dulating and wavering, now closer together, now more apart, obedient to the voice of spontaneous orators, exciting them from point to point, rumbling like the inflowing tide, and ever and anon sending forth a unanimous and angry cry of "Hurrah for the charter! Down with the ministers!"

The citizens, opening their windows as these threatening masses passed on, responded to the multitude with the same cries, and with encouraging gestures. The troops, few in number, uneasy as to their position, their right, and their duty, allowed the torrent to flow on between their bayonets, sympathising in eye and heart with the crowd, and saluted by the latter with the cries of "Hurrah for the line! Hurrah for the sons and brothers of the people!" The gendarmerie alone, the repressive army of the daily tumults of the crowd, were assailed with menaces, insults, and stones. The body of cavalry, drawn up in front of the palace of the Duke of Orleans, had been compelled to fire in self-defence; the troops stationed in an adjacent street had also fired, and a few individuals had fallen beneath their bullets; an Englishman, a mad revolutionist, a relative of the revolutionary orator Fox, had been the first to fire upon the soldiers, from the window of the hotel in which he resided, in the Rue Saint-Honoré. The soldiers, indignant at this gratuitous assassination by a foreigner, possessing no claim to a common excitement or a common passion with Frenchmen, replied with a discharge of musketry at his window, which had stretched him dead, with his two domestics, on the very spot of his outrage.

The sharp rattle of these gun-shots, few in themselves, but multiplied in sound by the height of the houses, had excited the nerves of the multitude; they raised the bodies of the dead from the ground—they saw blood—they smelt powder—they exclaimed, "Murder!" A number of young men and operatives raised a first barricade at the entrance of the Rue de Richelieu, near the portico of the Theatre Français; a squadron of Lancers levelled it, and, sabre in hand, swept the streets contiguous to the Palais-Royal; the people broke open the gunsmiths' shops, and distributed weapons among the defenders of these popular redoubts. The paving stones of the Rue Saint

Wavering of the soldiery.

Honoré were taken up, wherewith to form barricades, at the opening of the *Marché des Innocents*, in the *Faubourg Saint Denis*, and on the *Place du Pantheon*; muskets and pikes were seen glittering here and there above the heads of the crowd; a tri-coloured flag was paraded, with impunity, by a student on the quays of the *Seine*, a significant symbol of revolution, manifested as yet in menace, rather than adopted by insurrection. The pupils of the *École Polytechnique*, at the sound of the musketry, and at the instigation of comrades returning, animated with the public passion, rose against their commandant, and sent a deputation to M.M. Lafitte, Casimir Périer, and Lafayette, the deputies for Paris, to offer their arms in the defence of liberty.

The people collected from all the *Faubourgs* at the approach of night; the broad avenues of the *Boulevard* scarcely sufficed to contain the flood of men congregated between their walls; the troops being pressed helpless against the houses, or forcing, with infinite labour, a narrow current through the mass, in which they became lost, were overwhelmed with the sense of their numerical inferiority, and disarmed beforehand by the unanimity of indignation against the measures which they were ordered to support. To convert this inward doubt into open defection but one appeal was needed, and that appeal was made to them by the people as they passed on, in the adjuration not to sully their bayonets with the blood of their brethren for the benefit of their tyrants. The hearts of the soldiers and the officers of the line received this appeal from the hands and lips of the people with mournful complicity; barricades were raised before their eyes with impunity; a single shot, only at rare intervals, drew a prolonged cry from the crowd; a corpse, here and there, stretched on the steps of the public edifices, or borne as standards on the bare arms of their brethren, to augment, through men's eyes, the sense of indignation already kindled in their hearts; a few guard-houses on fire, sending up flame and smoke towards the heavens—such, at the decline of the second day, was the aspect of Paris. The army of the revolution, on foot, and vaguely combatting, called for leaders and instructions to guide them in a definite course.

Alarm of the popular leaders

III.

The leaders, astonished at their own strength, still kept in the background, deliberating. They were alarmed at the very excess of the excitement, which had been so long and so pertinaciously the aim of their premeditations. The indomitable masses—the people in rags—the populace of the Faubourgs in the opulent streets—their unwonted weapons, the pikes, reminiscences of the Reign of Terror—the implements of industry converted into instruments of civil war—the pillagings of the gunsmiths' shops—the torches brandished by lunatic hands from street to street—the blood, the first drops of which swelled into floods—made them hesitate, reflect, and tremble before their own work.

"It was not a revolution we desired," exclaimed M. de Rémusat, to his friends assembled at the office of the *Globe*, when they wished to impel him further than his conscience permitted. "It was a civic resistance we contemplated; an appeal to the laws; not an appeal to murder." But it was too late, revolution bore off opposition on its bursting tide. M. de Rémusat, overwhelmed by the sense of the catastrophes he foresaw, hid his face, that he might not see the day that followed this terrible night.

M. Thiers, though ready for revolution, had a repugnance to movements by the masses; the movements he desired were those after his own fashion—political, not popular; he made it his endeavour to curb the unreflecting impatience of the youthful republicans by whom he was surrounded. He feared lest the victory of the people should pass on beyond that simple change of dynasty, which was the limit of his theories and of his daring. Republicanism and Bonapartism dared more, because they desired more. The faction of the Duke of Orleans, composed chiefly of the deputies of Paris, at present in Paris, had rushed to the house of the most popular banker of the capital, M. Lafitte, where it had been sitting continuously for the last thirty-six hours, engaged in a deliberation as confused

Marmont assumes the command.

and indecisive as the event under discussion. A regiment quartered at Vincennes, and summoned by the Prince de Polignac towards the close of the day, was advancing by torch light towards the Porte Saint Denis. Night still separated the combatants, and it was impossible to predicate the result of the approaching day.

IV.

Marmont, assuming at length the command-in-chief of the troops, had been thrown into consternation by the smallness of their numbers. The garrison of Paris did not amount to more than 11,000 men, the Garde Royale to more than 5,000. The Palace of the Tuileries and the Place du Carrousel, the natural fortress of power, had been selected by the marshal as headquarters. These 12,000, or 15,000 soldiers would suffice to receive there the assault of a sedition, such as that of 1792, but it would have been an act of madness, with such a handful of men, to have gone forth to give battle to a whole people. The marshal had experience enough to comprehend this; but, at the moment when he installed himself at the Tuileries, to assume there the military direction of affairs, the events of the evening and of the morning were already so mixed up together, by the reciprocal position of the people and of the troops, that it had become a question, whether the matter in hand was to appease a sedition, or to combat a revolution; and that the immediate withdrawal of the advanced posts of the troops on the Carrousel might wear the appearance of a confession of weakness, and thus give the people, in the very outset, the feeling and the daring of a victory.

The marshal himself, as undecided as the event, without conviction in the justice of the cause he was about to defend; without confidence in his army, of which he knew nothing; without provisions, without pay, without ammunition; without sympathy for the Prince de Polignac and the government, which he hated, and the fall of which he earnestly desired in his inmost soul at the very time that he lent it his aid; was impelled by fatality to pursue an utterly erroneous

Pillage of the gunsmiths' shops.

system of partial attack, with unequal forces upon the people, instead of frankly admitting his weakness and adopting the defensive system, which could alone save the King by giving him time for reflection

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The early-rising population of the Faubourgs, left to themselves. in consequence of the paucity of the troops on the night of the 27th, armed themselves freely and at leisure, before daybreak, by the general pillage of the gunsmiths' shops, by a distribution of fire-arms on the part of a republican deputy of Paris, Audry de Puyraveau, by the spoils of the arsenal, of the powder magazines, of the barracks, of the veterans, and of the military posts, everywhere disarmed in the northern and eastern suburbs of the capital. Forty thousand muskets of disbanded National Guards, neutral when not hostile, served to supply the remainder of the populace who were on foot, a hundred thousand of whom were under arms in Paris, before eight o'clock in the morning. The marshal had collected his forces and formed his plan of battle, during the night. This plan was to mass his troops at the Tuileries and in the Champs Elysées ; to occupy the Ecole-Militaire, the Pantheon, the Palais de Justice, the interior Boulevards, the barracks, the Palais Royal, the Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville, and, lastly, to keep open the leading avenues of Paris, and to send reinforcements by these avenues, as occasion required, to the posts more vigorously assaulted than the rest. This plan, excellent with an army of sixty thousand men, was illusory with so limited a number of combatants as he had at his disposal.

VI.

The people did not give him time to complete the distribution of his various corps at the posts which he had designed for them. A column of the insurgents and of National Guards, headed by a group of intrepid republicans, attacked the post

General rising of the population.

of Petits Pères at eight o'clock, got possession of the Mairie, distributed the weapons and the drums they found there, and then marching through the contiguous streets, in order to rally the scattered citizens to this focus of battle, advanced to the Palais Royale and took possession of the Bank, in order to save with the one hand the public liberty, and with the other, the public treasure.

At the same moment all the streets leading from northern Paris to the Boulevard poured armed columns into this artery of revolutions; the Quartier du Pantheon rose, *en-masse*, under the example of the Ecole Polytechnique, where the pupils forced their gates in order to march in arms at the head of the people. The aspect of this youthful assemblage, presenting the flower of the country to the fire of despotism, raised to frenzy the enthusiasm of these plebeian and warlike districts. The quays of the Seine were covered with two hundred thousand citizens, some of them fighting, the rest spectators; but all prepared to submerge the feeble battalions beneath this flood of men. The marshal detached two divisions of his army to march, the one to the Hôtel de Ville by the quays of the Seine, the other to the Bastille by the Boulevard; the latter division, after having swept the Boulevard, was to operate its junction by the Rue Saint Antoine with the division on the quays. Two battalions of the Garde Royale, the picked men of those troops, marched at the same time through the streets of central Paris, and occupied the Marché des Innocents; they were to fall into two divisions in the Rue Saint Denis, to clear it throughout, and keep it open for the passage of the peaceful citizens and of the troops.

Torrents of blood were to flow in the path of these three columns, yet their paucity of numbers precluded them from deriving any permanent advantage from their victory, or even from being able to secure their own return. These regiments and these battalions had only the small number of cartridges left in the soldiers' cartridge-boxes in time of peace, and no distribution of rations had been arranged for them in the lines, or at the posts which they were sent to occupy. The possession by the people of the military bakeries, deprived the troops even of bread;

General Talon seizes on the Hôtel de Ville.

the war-office, administered, during the absence of Marshal Bourmont, by a young and excellent officer, the Viscomte de Champagne, had been forewarned of no movement by the cabinet council. An aggression, premeditated for many months past, was made to commence as though it were a surprise operated on the government by a conspiracy.

Meanwhile, several leaders of faction, declining the responsibility of a pitched battle against royalty, or shrinking with repugnance and horror from imminent civil war, or intimidated by the superiority of forces which they presumed the government to possess, quitted Paris before the battle began: of this number was M. Thiers, who retired to a distant country-house in the valley of Montmorency, the property of a relation of one of the editors of the *Journal des Débats*, to await events, and to deplore the blood that was about to flow. A young writer of the *National*, Carrel, since become illustrious from his struggle against the second monarchy, manifested equal grief for blood vainly shed, and equal hopelessness of success from the irregular efforts of the people.

VII.

General Talon, an officer of great experience, calm, and capable of taking counsel from danger itself, commanded the column of two battalions which advanced along the quays to the Hôtel de Ville; he took with him, for a short distance, the 15th Regiment of the Line, which he met mid-way, and presently, leaving this regiment undecided and half disposed to desertion in the Marché aux Fleurs, he dashed into the Place de Grève, where the tocsin of Notre Dame had collected swarms of people, unmasked two pieces of cannon, poured grape shot upon these masses, strewed the place with corpses, and, forcing his way to the steps of the palace, expelled the insurgents, and established himself there immovably to await the column of the Boulevard.

The 15th Regiment of the Line, spectators of this attack and this victory of the Garde Royale, gave no assistance

Symptoms of disaffection in the troops.

whatever to General Talon. Struck with stupor, paralysed with doubt, in presence of that *levée en masse* of the people, and of that almost unanimous cry of an insurgent capital, fearing alike to be guilty of cowardice, or of parricide, these troops sought rather to interpose between the combatants than to combat themselves. Many of their officers broke their swords, in order that they might not turn them against the nation; the soldiers, closely surrounded during the two last days with constantly renewing masses, conciliating them to concord, could not believe that right was on the one side and the people on the other, or that there could be a military discipline more sacred than patriotism. Accustomed to march with the conscious security of duty behind the National Guard, the presence of that National Guard, in uniform and under arms, among the groups of insurgents, disconcerted them; they contented themselves with remaining passively in the positions which had been assigned to them, and with turning back, gently, the impatient masses of the combatants, when they approached too near them. There were instances, indeed, of their giving passage, unscathed, to armed citizens on their way from one barricade, or one attack, to another. M. de Polignac and Marshal Marmont, by dispersing and isolating these corps, had deprived them of that moral force of cohesion and unity, which effectually constitutes armies. The 15th Regiment, soon overwhelmed by the combatants flowing in from the poor streets of the Pantheon and the operative quarter of Bercy, left the Garde Royale to fire its grape-shot from one extremity of the place to the other, master: it is true, of the Hôtel de Ville, but practically imprisoned in the place it had so conquered. Several columns of intrepid young men, excited with ardour and gunpowder, advanced on the bridge swept by the grape-shot, and fell in the endeavour to pass it.

It was here that a young man, of name unknown, holding in one hand a tri-coloured flag, and rushing on to certain death, that he might force a way for his co-patriots, fell beneath the bullets, and as he fell, enveloped in his flag, and full of the thought of glory, exclaimed with his last breath, "My friends, recollect that my name is Arcole," thus baptising with his

Fighting at the barricades.

blood his first and last monument. The people, struck with the coincidence, so truly and so touchingly pointed out, conferred on the bridge the heroic name which it still retains.

VIII.

The second column of the guard, marching along the Boulevard to the Bastille, and which, from the Bastille, was to rejoin General Talon at the Hôtel de Ville, through the Rue Saint Antoine, came upon the insurgents of the Faubourg at the Porte Saint Denis, and drove them in with cannon-balls. But, no sooner had General St. Chamand, who commanded this detached wing, traversed the multitude and dispersed it, than it flowed back on his flanks and in his rear, and raised innumerable barricades to cut off his return. This column, accordingly, on reaching the Place de la Bastille, found itself so hemmed in by the barricades, and by the battlemented houses of the Rue Saint Antoine, whence a murderous fire poured down on the soldiers, that the general, finding it impossible either to retreat, or to advance to the Hôtel de Ville, the point upon which he was directed, proceeded to the Pont d'Austerlitz, and crossed that bridge, in order to make a detour along the southern Boulevards, and so to rejoin the army by an open road.

A squadron of Cuirassiers and the 50th Regiment of the Line, accidentally meeting some moments after, on the Place de la Bastille, attempted the passage of the Rue Saint Antoine, under the fire of the barricades,—which they carried in succession,—and the articles of furniture and the paving stones hurled upon them from the roofs and windows of the houses; discouraged and cut up, they reached the Place de Grève, for the occupation of which, General Talon had been for two hours disputing with the people. The 50th Regiment of the Line, worn out with fighting, and staggered by the unanimity of revolt which it had been contemplating since the morning, was about to withdraw from the struggle, leaving the Garde Royale to sustain it almost unsupported; this regiment took shelter from the firing in the courts of the Hôtel de Ville, and transferred its cartridges to the soldiers of General Talon,

Deplorable situation of the troops.

who held himself bound to the King in personal fidelity to death. A battalion of Swiss, a reinforcement sent to the Hôtel de Ville by Marshal Marmont, made its way into the building at the same moment; thus only escaping from a heavy fire which had been poured upon it on its way, from the compact masses through which it had forced a passage. At this time the various corps under the marshal's command had no other medium of communication with him than by emissaries, disguised as operatives, who carried orders or information from one detachment to another.

These troops, separated from their centre, without bread, without wine, without ammunition, without field hospitals for their wounded, without reinforcements to repair their losses,—exhausted by forty-eight hours' fighting, and by the noon-day heat which burned the very pavement,—imprisoned in their positions, assailed by two covered fires, which struck them, but which they were wholly unable to return, asked each other for whom, and against whom, they were thus fighting, were thus sinking at once under thirst, hunger, weariness, doubt, and remorse. The spectacle of their capital in flames, the supplications of old men and women, conjuring them, with clasped hands, to spare their native land, and to embrace their brethren; the grief of their officers, whom honour alone retained at their posts; the sight of that tricoloured standard, the exhumed idol of the soldier, who regarded every bullet that tore it as sacrilegious; the cries of "Hurrah for the Charter! Hurrah for the Army! Hurrah for Liberty! Hurrah for France! Down with the Ministers, the assassins of the people!" the perpetually increasing multitude, manifesting the certainty of much bloodshed from a struggle, but no possible victory; lastly, that vast murmur which arose from Paris, ever increasing in intensity, and which seemed the hollow groan of the common mother, immolated by her own children: every thing concurred to dismay the soldiers; they themselves perceived the want of plan, of unity, of entirety, of congruity, in the arrangements, or rather, the groping in the dark of their general. Many of them discharged their muskets in the air, some gave them to the people, and a still greater number entered into compact with the insur-

Marmont obliged to concentrate his forces.

gents. No longer obeying the orders transmitted from headquarters, they preserved, amid the applauses of the crowd, a neutrality under arms. The guards alone still fought on, but what could five or six thousand heroic soldiers do, harrassed with three days and three nights of conflict with an inexhaustible population?

Already the popular masses, accumulating more and more densely in the quarters round the palace, fired at the colonnade of the Louvre from the roofs and upper windows of the small streets running towards that building. The old Vendéan general, D'Autichamp, the commandant of the Louvre, who could not from weight of years stand erect, seated on a chair at the foot of the colonnade, encouraged by voice and example the troops who defended the approaches to this palace of the kings.

The regiment commissioned to occupy the Marché des Innocents,—overwhelmed by the paving-stones that rained upon their heads from the roofs of the houses, marching arduously from assault to assault, in order to pass the barricades accumulated in those narrow streets, regained the Boulevards without having been able to reach the Rue de Richelieu, and seeking at last egress rather than victory,—re-ascended at a venture the Rue Saint Denis, bearing upon their crossed muskets their colonel, M. de Pleine-Selve, who, though mortally wounded, preserved in death the cool intrepidity which had distinguished his life.

Marmont, whose forces were reduced to a few battalions and squadrons, scarcely occupying the Carrousel, the Rue de Rivoli, the Place de la Concorde, the Place Vendôme, and the Louvre, felt the city escaping from his outstretched grasp, and found himself limited, by necessity, to the only real sound tactics in popular insurrections, namely, separating the troops from the people, and concentrating the army within a circumscribed and commanding position, whence it can strike decisive blows and fall back upon itself, in case of need, without being similarly struck in return. He sent officers in disguise to carry to the Hotel de Ville, and to all the scattered detachments, permission to retire, during the night, to the Tuileries. Some received this order, and prepared to obey it;

Seduction of the troops by the Parisians.

the majority, however, of the troops of the line received it, and reserved to themselves full license to disobey it. Three or four of these regiments had already made tacit treaties with sedition. The inhabitants of the quarters in which these exhausted troops were stationed, disarmed them of all hostility by their attentions and kindnesses. The wives, daughters, sisters, of the insurgents, displayed the utmost commiseration for the condition of the soldiers; half dead with thirst, they brought them meat, bread, drink, and themselves tended their wounds. The instant that a combatant fell, he became sacred with both parties. Civil war, wholly political as it was, a matter rather of external circumstances than of the heart, had not stifled humanity in the people of Paris. They fought, they did not assassinate; a disarmed enemy became to them a brother. Only the boys of Paris, from the factories, from the faubourgs, from the taverns, from the stalls,—vagabonds, with no other family than the general crowd, with no other home, no other rallying point than tumults, signalised themselves by acts of audacity, which pity for their age alone, in some cases, rendered harmless for them. It was the hands of irresponsible children which slew the officers of the guards who were immolated in this struggle. The youth of Paris afterwards redeemed the evil repute they acquired on this occasion, by devotion, intrepidity, and discipline, when a prudent revolution enrolled them as the *Garde Mobile*, in which character they became the saviours of the city of which before they had been the scourge.

IX.

Amid this protracted and confused conflict, to which the immobility of the King at St. Cloud, the obstinacy of the Prince de Polignac, and the languid inaptitude of Marmont promised no other termination than a revolution, the leaders of faction continued to deliberate in the houses of M. Lafitte, and of M. de Lafayette. These deliberations, characterised by no energy, corresponded neither to the excitement of the people, nor to the urgency of the resolutions. M. Audrey de

Indecision of the Opposition leaders.

Puyraveau, thereupon, assembled at his house all the deputies then in Paris, and all those influential organs of the press—liberal, Bonapartist and republican—the notoriety of whose names and opinions entitled and enabled them to impress upon a sudden commotion, an idea and an aim proportionate to its grandeur. An ardent band of youth, the remains of all the imperfectly extinguished conspiracies of the past fifteen years, crowded the vestibules and courts of M. de Puyraveau's house, ready to obey, if the resolutions were sufficiently energetic,—ready, with its turbulence, to breathe greater spirit into them, if not energetic enough,—ready, in short, to go elsewhere in search of more resolute chiefs, if the resolutions wholly failed to satisfy their impatience for the overthrow of the existing state of things.

M. Mauguin, a young barrister, whom nature had designed for parliament, who had in thought, feature, and voice, that acute genius of Danton—his secret model—which gives to each word the rapid and telling effect of a blow, dealt, as it were, at the critical moment, saw with a glance to the very depth of the abyss. It was his pride not to allow himself to be anticipated by unforeseen events. "It is a revolution," said he, "and not a riot. If you would lead that revolution, learn first to comprehend it; if you would have it assume other leaders, you have but to hesitate. Between the people and the Garde Royale you have a choice; between the people and their enemies there is no room but for cowards, speedily repudiated by both parties. Pronounce for the revolution, or the revolution will proceed without you, and against you."

Those present who belonged to the numerous class that await results, lest they should speak out at the wrong time, murmured at these words, and took shelter under defensive legality. M. Guizot read the draft of a declaration, to be signed by the deputies illegally dissolved, as he said, asserting their title of legal representatives of the nation, the duties of which violence alone prevented them from fulfilling by counselling the King, and preserving the country. M. de Lafayette and the republican party were scandalised at the protestations of fidelity to the monarchy contained

Attempt to gain Marmont by bribery,

in this declaration, at once timid and insurrectional at the very moment that the troops of the monarch were hurling fire and sword at the people. The friends of General Sébastiani saw in it, on the contrary, a declared revolt against the misguided but legal prerogatives of the crown, and an imperious and revolutionary mediation on the part of the deputies without real authority, assailing at once the rights of the people and those of the throne. M. de Lafayette smiled with equal disdain at the scruples of M. Guizot and his opponents; insurrection, the basis of his political life, appeared to him legitimate, the instant that it became possible. Casimir Périer, already embarrassed by excess of victory, a man equally antagonistic to revolution, which his recollections taught him to dread, and to counter-revolution, which he abhorred from the haughtiness of his soul, was disposed to negotiations, whence liberalism—plebeian but monarchical liberalism—should inevitably issue, mistress at once of the court and the people. He believed in the power of popularity over the heart of Marmont, and he had hopes from the temptation of gold upon his necessities, "Four millions would not be ill employed here," he whispered in the ear of M. Lafitte, who had as much to lose by convulsion, and as much to preserve by compromise, as himself; "we must treat with Marmont."

This suggestion, avoiding extreme resolutions, was adopted by the majority of the deputies present. M. Lafitte was requested himself to name the negotiators who should proceed with him to the Tuileries, to bear to the marshal the reproaches and the supplications of the people. The more extreme resolutions were postponed till after this interview, of which the official plenipotentiaries were to report the results that evening, at the house of M. Bérard, another of the Parisian deputy.

X.

A man, whom science had connected with Marmont, M. Arago, his colleague at the Institute, had preceded the deputation to the Tuileries. Confidentially informed by the marshal, on the previous evening, of his anxieties, compassionate

And to seduce him by friendship.

in his heart the mournful part cast by ill luck upon his friend, whether conquered or conqueror, detesting civil war, impelled by his enthusiasm towards the republic, yet adhering to monarchy from a sense of propriety, M. Arago spontaneously hastened to the marshal, to suggest to him one of those untimely courses which ruin a cause while saving a general.

Marmont read in the features of his friend the same sincere but unacceptable overtures which had just been made to him amidst the firing. "No, no," he exclaimed, before M. Arago had opened his lips, "propose nothing to me that will dishonour me." M. Arago conjured the marshal instantly to resign his command, and to repair to Charles X offering him his sword for his personal defence, but refusing it to the crime of his ministers. This counsel, which the blind zeal of friendship could alone have inspired in a man of reflection, however honourable on the previous evening, could not, at that moment, come under any other name than one abhorrent to a soldier—defection under arms. Marmont rejected it sorrowfully, but with an emotion of military honour that exempts his memory from any taint of treachery. "You know better than any one," he said to M. Arago, "whether I approve of these odious and fatal measures; but I am a soldier. I am at the post where the confidence of the King has placed me. To abandon that post under the fire of a sedition, to leave my troops without a leader, to expose my prince—this would be desertion, flight, ignominy! My destiny is fearful, but it is fixed, and must be accomplished."

M. Arago was still urging his entreaties, when several officers, covered with blood, came to require from the marshal reinforcements and artillery for his seconds in command, combating with wholly inadequate forces in the *Marché des Innocents*, and at the *Hôtel de Ville*. "I have no troops to send them," replied the general, in despair, "they must do the best they can for themselves." At this moment the deputies, headed by M. Lafitte, being announced, M. Arago withdrew. M. Lafitte derived his fortune from a family allied to that of Marmont; and he had over the mind of the marshal that influence which is created by long and affectionate intimacy. He entered,

All nobly rejected by him.

and presented to the marshal his four colleagues, General Lobau, General Gérard, MM. Mauguin and Casimir-Périer, all of them men capable of appreciating and of reconciling with the susceptibilities of military honour, all the gravity of a negotiation such as this. The interview was protracted, sad, pathetic, on the part of the deputies, despairing on that of the general; and there was, in their interchange of mournful glances, as much mutual understanding as there was official contradiction in their positions. Marmont's eyes were filled with tears; all that was asked of him was a suspension of the firing, but this was a truce, and a truce, to be honourable and sure, must be reciprocal. He demanded, in his turn, that the people should lay by their arms before his troops; but the deputies having no authority to extinguish the popular frenzy nothing could be done between men who mutually called upon each other to dishonour themselves. "Well," exclaimed M. Lafitte, "since blood must still flow, I pass over to the ranks of those who are to be shot down." "What can I do?" returned Marmont: then, in the accents of a man essaying without hope a last resource, he added: "All I can do, is to write to the King. I will write to him." The deputies rose to take their leave. "Wait a moment," said the marshal, as if with the sudden inspiration of a last hope. The deputies resumed their seats. Marmont opened a side door and quitted the apartment.

XI.

The cabinet council, which had been sitting ever since the 27th, had adjourned to the Tuileries, in order to conduct their deliberations nearer the scene of events, and to shelter their lives from the fury of the people in the last asylum which remained to the government, under the cannon of the army. The council, however, did not, and could not act, since the government, which had now resolved itself into fighting, had passed wholly into the hands of the marshal. They merely represented at the palace the supreme authority of the King, and it was only in his name that they could adopt the political decrees that should be called for by events. Still persuaded

Inflexible folly of Prince Polignac.

that the artful and domineering commotion of a portion of the people was merely a sedition, that would be speedily extinguished in the blood of a few factious wretches, they felt neither remorse nor fear at this revolutionary explosion, out of which they were satisfied that monarchy would issue the more invincible from the fruitless attack which had been made upon it. The Prince de Polignac had just communicated to his colleagues a list of some great, popular, and suspected persons, which he was about to transmit to Marshal Marmont, that he might order the gendarmerie to seize them in their houses, and render them powerless by throwing them into prison.

The marshal, whose features were convulsed with the agony of his soul, opened the door of the council chamber, and taking the Prince de Polignac aside, communicated to him the state of Paris, the obstinacy of the struggle, the heroic but utterly inadequate efforts of the Garde Royale, and the wavering and incipient defection of the troops of the line. "Well," replied the prince, with the blind energy of inflexibility, "if the troops pass over to the people, we must fire upon the troops."

Marmont related to the ministers the visit he had just received from the deputies, and the substance of his interview with them. In the hope that the grief and patriotism of these citizens, the most influential in Paris, might exercise a certain pressure of compassion or of fear on the mind or on the heart of the president of the council, he asked the latter whether he would consent to see the deputies himself. The Prince de Polignac appeared to welcome the interview with eagerness, and permitting the Marshal to send for the deputies, an aide-de-camp received orders to introduce them. But the officer had scarcely quitted the council chamber when the prince, reflecting that a conference, in which he had perfectly made up his mind to yield no concession, would be in the eyes of revolt merely an appearance of negotiation that would be construed as weakness, recalled the messenger, and requested the marshal to inform the five deputies that he had nothing to hear, since he had nothing to say in reply.

Marmont compromised by his indecision.

The negotiators, deceived in their hopes, returned to relate to their friends and to the people their discouragement and their indignation. The ministers, surrounded by the small body of confidants who flatter till the moment of death the powers that be, amused themselves till evening with futile proclamations to the troops and to the people, that did not pass even the walls of the building in which they were drawn up. They began to distrust the fidelity of the marshal—to construe as treachery his misfortunes and failures—to be astonished at his remaining motionless in the palace, at a time when his presence and his sword should, according to their view, have been securing victory to his columns. Some of them went the length of apprehending the presence of those same millions of which Casimir-Périer had spoken at the meeting of deputies. The people, on their part, imputed to the millions chimerically lavished by the court on the marshal, the blood of the people that was being shed under his orders, and vociferated at each discharge of the royal musketry: "It is Marmont paying his debts!" An odious calumny on both sides, attesting the fatality of the part he played, and the unpardonable indecision of the general.

XII

Marmont, faithful to the promise he had made to the deputies, wrote to the King, informing him that the sedition was no longer a mere riot, but a revolution, firm and erect; that the crown might still be saved by measures the spontaneous impulses of his own heart; that these measures, the prudence of that day, might, on the morrow, become a necessity degrading to royalty; that the deputies with whom he had had an interview, promised to restore general tranquillity if the King would withdraw the ordinances; but that otherwise, the troops commanded by him, in an impregnable position, might there defy for more than a month the irregular forces of the people. The Prince de Polignac, on his part, wrote to Saint Cloud letters impressed with the imperturbable confidence of his soul; and thereupon the King ordered the marshal not to yield

Rash interference of the Duchess de Berry

an inch, but to concentrate his strength round the palace, and to employ masses against the assailants. These imaginary masses now consisted of only four thousand five hundred men of the Garde Royale, of whom more than two thousand were hemmed in by the popular forces remote from the Tuileries and from their general. "Paris is in anarchy," said the King; "anarchy will bring Paris back to my feet." It was in vain that several officers of practised eye, such as General Vincent, and General Alexandre de Girardin, the master of the buck-hounds, after having inspected the field of battle, made their way to the King to reveal to him his danger, and to insinuate prudence. The Duchess de Berry, rash with passion, rushed in, and denounced concessions which would uncrown her son. "Alas, madam," replied General Girardin, "it is not my interests that I am urging here, but your own; the King is risking, not only his crown, but that of his own son as well as yours!" But the princesses, now by their frantic excitement, now by their prostrate dejection, all alike unseasonable, were destined for a third time to impel royalty to its downfall. They revived in the head of the dynasty the illusions with which he had been so long flattered. The Prince de Polignac and the *coup d'état*, so bitterly reproached by them the next day, were in a great measure their own work. The circle in which they moved had made a fanatic of the King, and now prevented him from seeing anything beyond the present moment, or turning aside to save them and his race. The Duke d'Angoulême replied to everybody: "I am the first subject of my father, and his will ought to be mine."

M. de Vitrolles himself, always playing a part in every new event, to seize the hour when princes can bear officious counsels, succeeded in getting to the King. He advised him to bend before necessity, in order to rise again afterwards under better circumstances. He cited to the King the example of great politicians, who yielded to the force of obstacles that they might subsequently return to the charge and gain their ends. The King, capable of fanaticism, but incapable of machiavelism rejected, in the most decided manner, these examples and these counsels; he preferred losing his crown rather than change

Scheme proposed to the Duchess de Berry,

the temper, of his mind ; and then he neither thought the danger so extreme, nor the means proposed on all sides compatible with his honour ; he even avoided, as much as he could, all conferences on public affairs with those benevolent counsellors who were then besieging the door of his apartments at St. Cloud ; and who, after having been employed fifteen years in impelling him to adventurous temerities, now pressed him to retreat in the midst of the action, and to evince cowardice in the presence of danger.

XIII

Some of these men already began to abandon him to his obstinacy,—obstinacy which they themselves had engendered, and hastened to tempt the Duchess de Berry by the example of Maria-Theresa, conquering the fidelity of her Hungarians by enthusiasm and the hurrahs raised for a woman. They advised her to escape from St. Cloud with a group of officers and devoted soldiers, to take the Duke of Orleans by surprise on her way through Neuilly, to incline him to fidelity by force, or snatch him from the revolution and keep him as a hostage ; to enter Paris with her son, the Duke de Bordeaux, in her arms, to traverse the Boulevards, invoking the pity of the people for the child of a martyr and the victim of an old man's imbecility, to make even the enemies of royalty relent at the sight of this theatrical display, infallible in its action on the pathetic feelings of a multitude, and to reconquer with tears a throne that could no longer be retained by the effusion of blood. The young Duchess approved of a project in which the romantic heroism that pleases women, was associated with the tenderness of a mother and the ambition of a princess. A confidant of this fugitive thought revealed the chimerical enterprise to the King, and it was stayed. Charles X. forbade the Baron de Damas to consent to a maternal folly which threw his ward into the arms of the revolution under the pretext of subduing it. “Doubtless,” said he, in a moment of excitement, “the people might adopt the widow and the orphan of the throne, and reinstate them in the Tuileries ; but they would

Discountenanced by the King.

also exact from them those conditions which render royalty illusory and subject it to popular caprice ; they would transform the grandson into the usurper of the crown of his uncle and his grandfather, and this child, the hope and love of the Duke d'Angoulême and Charles X. in the morning, would become, ere night, in the hands of the people, the king of civil war and the born-enemy of his whole family. Moreover, though the King had cause to be astonished at the absence of the Duke of Orleans, when circumstances required all natural defenders of the throne to group themselves round the monarch, yet, being the first prince of the blood, and greatly enriched by his kindness, he would have blushed to suspect that prince of a criminal thought, and to preclude the possibility of a defection by violence. The Duchess de Berry and her advisers were discountenanced, and all their movements in the palace watched. The King shut himself up for the rest of the day with his son in his own apartments, where he remained inaccessible to all, awaiting victory, and rebuking the slowness of Marmont.

XIV.

While agitation reigned at St. Cloud, the people continued to fight and conquer, and the deputies and chiefs of factions to concert their plans. At eleven o'clock in the evening a third meeting was in angry debate at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau. After having heard with indignation the recital of M. Lafitte concerning the interview of the commissioners with Marmont, and the refusal of M. de Polignac even to listen to the lamentations of the people, it was agreed, if nothing should change during the night, to declare themselves no longer mediators but foes ; to hoist the tri-coloured flag, to place themselves at the head of the people, and to break with royalty, by proclaiming the King and his ministers public enemies. The place assigned for this final deliberation was the house of M. Lafitte, at six o'clock in the morning. General Sébastiani, who possessed the foresight of a statesman, was the only one who opposed a réso

The royal troops evacuate the city.

lution which rendered the crown and the people irreconcilable. M. Guizot was pensive and silent. M. de Lafayette, leaning on M. de Lasteyrie's arm, was recognised by the people as he quitted the meeting, and incited by republican exclamations to complete the revolution which he had been fomenting during forty years, and to which one word from him was about to give existence. He returned home intoxicated with popularity, shaking hands with the republicans, smiling at their common thought, hushing the words their lips were ready to pronounce, waiting for the morrow, provoking always, never resolving: the eternal preamble of a republic for which, during his whole life, he had never ceased to conspire, and which he always adjourned.

At that same hour all the columns and posts of the Royal Guard, profiting by the darkness of the night and the sleep of the people, who can indeed conquer a field of battle, but never keep it, fell back towards the Tuileries, carrying with them their wounded seated on crossed muskets, and leaving a long trace of blood on the stones of the barricades! All Paris had joined the insurrection.

XV.

The complete evacuation of the capital, and the discouragement which prevailed at head-quarters during this funereal night, had produced their effect at the Tuileries, by shaking, at last, the confidence of the ministers, and half crushing the soul of M. de Polignac. When it was too late, they felt that they were perfectly unequal to the forces they had provoked, and resolved to repair in a body to St. Cloud, to resign the fragments of their blood-stained power into the hands of the King, and advise him to grant those concessions which, henceforth, were the only means of preserving the crown.

XVI.

They were preparing to proceed in a carriage to St. Cloud, when four members of the House of Peers, availing

Intermeddling of some peers.

themselves of the authority of their names, forced an entrance to the palace, and imperiously demanded an interview with the marshal, Prince Polignac, and the ministers. They were M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, M. de Vitrolles, and M. A. de Girardin. M. de Vitrolles and M. de Girardin, whom we have already mentioned as the bearers of important advice to St. Cloud the previous evening, had hastened back to Paris during the night to get a scent of other events, and give a fresh proof of their zeal. M. d'Argout,—then young, a royalist by birth, but who, being endowed with good sense, and living on terms of intimacy with M. Decazes and the *doctrinaires*, was also a liberal,—possessed that penetrating power which enabled him to judge correctly of affairs at a glance, a prompt resolution, and a strong active mind. He was one of those men who have neither exclusive systems nor prejudices, nor superstition for or against institutions or dynasties; but who consider governments as a sort of skilful artistic mechanism, necessarily placed at the head of nations, and whose sentiment and patriotism suffer when this beautiful mechanism, this master-piece of the human mind, crumbles to pieces, and is trodden down in the mire and polluted with blood; whether it be the consequence of power in delirium or the excesses of the people, because the nation is then threatened with anarchy. Nevertheless, these are the men who hasten to collect the fragments before the overthrow is completed, in order to re-compose another government.

As for M. de Semonville, it would be necessary to go back to the times of Rome and Athens, to find under one single name, so much pliability in the adoption and abandonment of every part in a political drama; so much triviality in devotedness, so much promptitude in defection, so much audacity in tacking about, so much prostration in flattery, so much *apropos* in insolence, so much penetration in forming conjectures on those who rise, so much precision in deserting those who fall, so much equilibrium in presence of uncertain fortunes, so much celerity to get the start even of chance, in order to be the first at the new event, and take up a position in success. His name, graced with many dignified adjuncts—the wages of defections—had sunk in public estimation, but its very nothing-

The ministers resolve to quit Paris.

ness allowed it to glide into every successive government from 1789:—the Republic, the Empire, and the Restoration. The man was unavoidable: every one wished to be rid of him, but he always found means to enter because he had the address to get mixed up with some necessity of the moment. He had in him that gift of prophecy which the necessity of turning circumstances to account will bestow. When any one wished to know which way the wind blew, he looked to M. de Semonville. After all, he was a man whose deeds, past or present, had nothing in them that was odious—nothing sinister; his character was one that belonged to the comedy—not the tragedy of revolutions; he had reached, by circuitous ways, the dignity of grand referendary of the House of Peers; a sort of domestic, rather than political superintendence over that great assembly of the state, which gave him the ascendancy in affairs of usage more than in those of opinion.

XVII

M. de Semonville apostrophised the Prince de Polignac with a sort of theatrical vehemence, which indicated that he had made up his mind to an immense ruin; he demanded, in the name of the peerage, the King, and the nation, an account of the blood spilt, and of monarchy destroyed. M. de Polignac, who knew his man, took no offence at these bursts of anger, intended to have their echo in the streets, nor at his familiar advice; the want of gravity in his interlocutor was a sufficient inducement for him to despise them. The ministers, already resolved upon retreat, listened more attentively to the counsels of M. d'Argout, who depicted to them, without exaggeration and without offence, the situation of Paris, and told them frankly that the sole hope for the King lay in the immediate recal of the proclamations, and the prompt nomination of a ministry of reconciliation and peace. This view of things was so conformable to that of the ministry, that M. de Polignac authorised M. de Semonville and M. d'Argout to follow them to St. Cloud, where he would procure them an immediate audience of the King, to speak to his

They arrive at St. Cloud.

master against himself. M. de Vitrolles, though his name had a very anti-liberal signification, joined once more these two negociators of concessions, and set out with them for St. Cloud. M. de Semonville, when he had quitted the ministers, and was crossing the marshal's apartment, insinuated—they say—to Marmont, that it was his duty to take upon himself the initiative, by employing force for the security of the King, in arresting M. de Polignac and all the ministers. The marshal, by assuming such a dictatorship, would have dethroned his master with the sword received from him for his defence: he knew it, and repelled the guilty insinuation.

The marshal, interrogated by the ministers before they quitted Paris and St. Cloud, showed them his positions concentrated round the palace, and told them, "You may affirm to the King that, happen what may, and without requiring any new reinforcements, were the whole population of Paris to rise in arms against me, I can hold out a fortnight! Yes," he repeated, firm in his conviction, "this position is impregnable, and I would hold it against all Paris for a fortnight!"

The ministers set out as the first shots sounded on the quays, and the people began to attack the Colonnade of the Louvre. It was nine o'clock. They found, on their arrival at St. Cloud, that the King was in conference with M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, and M. de Vitrolles. They respected the confidential character of this interview, and waited in the room which led to the King's cabinet, until he had dismissed the three mediators. They found the King fortified beforehand by an inflexible resolution, an obstinate incredulity against the sinister warnings to which they conjured him to listen. The calm of strength was on his features. "Well, Sire, must we speak out?" cried M. de Semonville, authorised by the silence of his colleagues; "if, in one hour, the proclamations are not revoked, adieu to king, adieu to royalty!" "You will, surely, grant me two hours?" replied the King, with confiding irony, as he began to retire. M. de Semonville, a consummate actor, who delighted in theatrical scenes, and who had tears in his part when he had none in his heart, threw himself at the monarch's feet, embraced his knees, held him by his coat, and,

The people in full possession of Paris.

dragging himself on his knees across the floor, exclaimed, sobbing : " The Dauphiness, Sire ! think of the Dauphiness ! " hoping to conquer the resistance of the King by the dethroned image of the daughter of Louis XVI. It was not without some trouble that the monarch was enabled to withdraw, and so escape the importunate supplications of a man whom he did not esteem sufficiently to credit his despair. Sully would have moved and convinced him ; M. de Semonville left him cold and incredulous. A man was wanting at that all-important moment. As they were leaving the King's cabinet, MM. de Semonville, d'Argout, and de Vitrolles found the ministers, who had waited till their audience was concluded to enter the council. The Prince de Polignac, in passing before M. de Semonville, said to him, with a tragic familiarity, and making the gesture indicative of decapitation : " Well ! you have just been demanding my head ? No matter ; it was my wish that the King should hear my accuser." And the council opened.

XVIII.

But, simultaneously with this journey from Paris to St. Cloud, this audience of the King with officious mediators, and this waiting of the ministers in the halls of the palace, events succeeded events in rapid succession at Paris. The barracks, scarcely defended by a few hundred men left to their own discretion, fell one by one into the hands of the people ; the town hall, from which all the troops had retreated during the night, was occupied by M. Baude, who installed, by authority, an insurrectional government. The Mairies were invaded and defended, at the same time, by National Guards armed for the protection of property. Columns and detachments of the lowest orders, guided by the young men of the schools, wended their way from all the more remote parts of Paris to form a junction at the Louvre ; the regiments of the line, scattered here and there in the centre of the capital, surrendered their arms or sided with the people. An adventurer, named Dubourg, an old officer seeking fortune in the events of the day, purchased

The insurgents break into the Louvre.

a general's uniform at rag-fair, and, calling upon the people, who wanted a leader, to follow him, assumed the military command of the Town-Hall, and there hoisted the black flag as a symbolic sign of liberty attacked.

The armed bands who approached the Tuileries by the Rue Saint Honoré and the Place de la Madeleine, exchanged shots with the out-posts of the marshal on the Place du Palais Royale and the Place Vendôme. On each side there were some killed. The troops of the line detached to the Place Vendôme held a parley with the assailants, and were going to allow them to pass on to the garden of the Tuileries. An aide-de-camp came, and announced this defection to the marshal, who ordered the commandant of the Swiss regiments, M. de Salis, posted at the Louvre with two battalions of his compatriots, to send him one of them to cover the Place Vendôme. M. de Salis, wishing to give some rest to the battalion which had been fighting since the morning in the Colonnade and at the windows of the Louvre, ordered the firing to cease, and, at the same time, commanded the men to come down and follow the orders of the marshal; he ordered the other battalion, which was stationed in the court-yard of the Louvre, to mount, in its turn, to the Colonnade, and replace the first.

By an inadvertency, fatal to the fortunes of the day, an interval of some minutes elapsed between the descent of the first battalion and the appearance of the other. The firing having ceased at the windows, and under the Colonnade, the people thought the silence and the disappearance of the Swiss, indicated a retreat: they fire with redoubled energy—no reply. With the boldest rush of impetuosity they cross the Place Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois, approach the gates, break them open, and invade the court-yard, while others mount, by hanging on to the mouldings of the edifice, on the side towards the quay, and reach the windows, which they enter unopposed; thence they extend their hands to other assailants, raise shouts of victory, fire into the galleries on the last of the Swiss soldiers, who rush pell mell through the different passages, in order to reach the court-yard; then, breaking the doors of communication between the Louvre and the Tuileries, they fire in their turn

Marmont retreats to the Champs-Élysées.

from the windows on the marshal's reserve, posted on the Carrousel.

Astonished at this shower of balls, and hearing the cries of the popular columns which enter by the avenues of the Louvre, the feeble remnant of the royal guard fall back in disorder on the court-yard of the Tuileries, and crowd through the archway under the clock pavilion, to shelter themselves in the garden. Marmont sees, from his windows, this irruption of the people through all the inlets and from every window of the Louvre; fresh courage animates his martial breast at the sight of peril and the shame of his troops: he goes down, mounts his horse, draws his sword, rushes, with a few officers, on to the Place Carrousel, heroically braves the fire of the Louvre, and of the sharpshooters of the people, makes them give way an instant before the charges of the little group that surrounds him, rallies his battalions and his squadrons—thrown into disorder by the panic—commands a retreat to the Champs-Élysées, and, keeping the insurgent bands at a distance by platoon-firing, passes into the garden, only after he has covered, with his own body, the last soldier of his army.

XIX.

Whilst the guard was crossing the garden in disorder, to go and concentrate in the Champs Élysées, and the order to follow this movement of retreat was being sent to all the corps stationed at the Madeleine, the Place Vendôme, the Rue de Rivoli, and the Palais Royale, the people, astonished at their victory, entered the palace, some through the picture gallery, some by the grand staircase, some by the windows; planted the tri-coloured flag on the summit of the edifice, and, seating the corpse of one of their combatants—a pupil of the Polytechnic School—on the throne, reproached royalty, by this symbolical exposition, with the blood that had been shed through the provocation of its ministers. They discharged random shots, they tore with their bayonets, they stamped under their naked feet the portraits, the hangings, all the luxury of the apartments of the princes and princesses; joyously profaning, proudly

Destructive scenes in the Tuilleries.

interdicting, but mutually watching each other and preventing pillage in the midst of devastation. The lettered chiefs of the combatants, the National Guards, and the better kind of workmen, the artists, a great number of private citizens—all jealous of the probity of the people, of the honour of the revolution, of the splendour and of the monuments of their country—lost not an instant in throwing themselves into the palace and the museums, on hearing of the occupation of the Tuilleries and the Louvre, in order to constitute the people themselves the guardians of the monuments and the treasures they had conquered.

In the midst of these continued combats, the fickleness of the people made them pass, in an instant, from anger to pity, under the sole influence of their sudden impressions, or the first inspirations received from the crowd.

Near the Pont Royal, a group of furious men were exasperated against three unfortunate Swiss soldiers, whom they not only abused and beat most unmercifully, but endeavoured to drag to the parapet and precipitate into the Seine. Attracted by the tumult, a young man of great physical power and much greater moral energy, M. de Chamborant, got before the victims. "How long," cried he, "has it been the custom for Frenchmen to massacre in this manner enemies that are vanquished and disarmed? Before you consummate this crime you will pass over my body!" These words excited sympathetic bravos. Those who, a short time previous, had been the silent and inactive witnesses of a crime which, no doubt, they deplored, found courage to join in the reproaches of M. de Chamborant. The latter took the responsibility of the unhappy soldiers—more dead than alive—upon himself. He made them cry "Vive la Charte!" (Success to the Charter) to disarm the people. Assisted by some kind-hearted workmen, he conveyed them to a house in the neighbouring street, and enabled them to escape under a popular disguise.

Insurrection was installed at the Tuilleries, and after the combatants came the pillagers. M. de Chamborant, surrounded by the crowd, was passing through the royal apartments. *In those of the Dauphiness he perceived a man who insolently clutched some articles of great value. Exasperated at the

Trifling loss sustained on both sides.

sight, M. de Chamborant rushed forward and compelled him to deliver them up; the latter discharged a pistol at his aggressor, which simply touched his coat. The two were surrounded; the dress of M. de Chamborant, his language, the abuse of his adversary,—everything seemed to point him out as a friend or a defender of the palace, and complicated his danger. A friendly voice extricated him: "Long live the son of General Lafayette!" cried a man. "It is he; I know him! Shame and death to the thieves!"

The crowd repeated these acclamations, and this new peril was averted by the inspiration of one of the people.

With the exception of the Rue de Rohan, where it joins the Rue Saint-Honoré, opposite to the Rue de Richelieu, near the Théâtre Français, and where Marmont had neglected to withdraw a post that covered the Carrousel, the firing had ceased everywhere at the cry of victory which the taking of the Tuileries had raised throughout the city. There, a hundred men, fortified in a house which had become a redoubt, defended themselves from floor to floor, against the frantic invasion of the people, and perished with their officers; bravely attacked during the combat, they were basely assassinated after the victory. A certain number of Swiss and gendarmes, cruelly pursued by those men of carnage, who everywhere bring dishonour on the real men of courage, expiated by their death the crime of their uniform, hateful to the people, and of the faithful accomplishment of their military duty; a greater number were sheltered, disguised, saved, embraced by the people themselves. Their unjust anger did not survive the firing; the pity and humanity of the people were worthy of their cause, and equal to their heroism. The number of the killed and wounded, exaggerated, as it always is, by the vapouring of the two parties, did not exceed a few hundreds, including soldiers and people. The most illustrious of these martyrs of the outraged law, was a young writer who promised to throw an additional glory over French philosophy—Georges Farcy. In spite of the prophetic presentiments of a few devoted friends, he had taken arms on the second day of the battle, and as he entered with the people on the Place du Carrousel, a ball struck him

Marmont's interview with the King.

in the breast. He was a young man cast in the mould of antiquity, whose graceful air concealed his courage, in whom the heroism of the heart was allied with serenity of mind, and who, had he been born in those times, would have been a disciple of Plato, or a companion of Leonidas.

XX.

The marshal, after having made the whole army fall back upon the space between the triumphal arch of l'Etoile and the gate of the Bois de Boulogne, galloped across the wood to St. Cloud, for the purpose of yielding up his sword into the hands of the King. Covered with the dust of the combat and the humiliation of defeat, he entered alone the cabinet of the King, to whom one hour previous, he had sworn to defend his capital and his crown at least a fortnight. "Sire," said he, with consternation in his features and despair in his speech, but with the firmness of a man accustomed to great reverses, "I have the grief to announce to your majesty that I have not been able to maintain your authority in Paris. The Swiss, whom I had entrusted with the defence of the Louvre, in a moment of panic-terror *abandoned that important post*; the rout then becoming general, I could only rally my battalions at the Arc de l'Etoile, and I have given the order to continue retreating on to St. Cloud. A ball, aimed at me, killed the horse of my aide-de-camp by my side; I regret that it did not pass through my head! Death would be less terrible to me than the sad spectacle I have just witnessed!" The King, without addressing a single reproach to the marshal, raised his eyes to Heaven, and recognised the fortune of his race. He took leave of Marmont, after having requested him to go and receive the orders of his son, the Duke d'Angoulême, whom he had just named *généralissimo* of the royal army; and he recalled the ministers. They themselves had just learned, during the conference of the King with his marshal, the details of the evacuation of Paris from General Coëtlosquet, who had hastened to St. Cloud.

XXI.

The King, conquered but not discouraged, did not appear to feel that his crown had fallen in the defeat of his troops. He reported to his ministers, with a firm voice, the nature of his interview with Marmont, and the propositions made by M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, and M. de Vitrolles. These negotiators, whom he complacently supposed to have a mission which they had received from nobody, demanded, said he, a change of ministers and the revocation of the proclamations. On these two conditions, they took upon themselves to reconcile the crown and the people, and to surround that reconciliation with respectful formalities, so as to save the honour of the throne and the dignity of the King. The Chamber of Peers and the courts of justice would each, in a collective body, go from Paris to St. Cloud, and supplicate the King to pardon his capital for the disorder created by an excess of love for the Charter. The King would reply that he consented to forget all, provided every one returned immediately to his duty. Then a general amnesty would cover the conquerors and the conquered.

Such was that dream. Men with such slight pretensions to influence over the multitude as M. de Semonville and M. de Vitrolles, flattered themselves they could insure its acceptance by the people to whom they were known only by their unpopularity. The King, undone and humiliated, flattered himself with this chimera. These phantasms only excited the pity and disdain of the ministers, but they did not possess the courage uselessly to disabuse the King. The change of ministry and the names of the ministers belonged to him. They confined themselves to the discussion of the revocation of the proclamations. Almost all, fearing, too late, lest they might drag down the crown in their fall by an obstinacy that fortune had just condemned, advised the King to commit this act of weakness. They conceived it to be the only means of stopping the effusion of blood and saving the royal family, exposed to perish under the wreck of a throne overturned for the third time. "I know not whether the measure proposed," said M. Guérin

Which are dispelled by M. de Ranville.

de Ranville, " would have produced any salutary result yesterday or this morning; at any rate I should have advised the King to it then, as a means of suspending at least the miseries of civil war; but now, I should only view it as an act of weakness, for it would have no other effect than that of legalising, as it were, the revolt, and robbing the crown even of the dignity of courage in misfortune.

" Some persons suppose that the promoters of the insurrection, compromised to the extent of having violated the King's palace, will be satisfied with the revocation of these proclamations, which have evidently been nothing more than the pretext for a movement combined and prepared long since. I consider such a hope to be an illusion; if you will but examine the course of events, you must be convinced that it is now no longer a question of ministry or proclamations, but of royal power, and that the struggle, at the height it has now attained, is a deadly combat between legitimacy and revolution. In such a position, the measure proposed would be, on the part of the crown, nothing more than the acknowledgment of an absolute defeat without resource; it would be equivalent to an abdication, for the hand that had signed it would, at that very instant, be struck with an irremediable impotency. If, for a time, it did prevent a definitive fall, it would only be a respite, to be shortly followed by a horrible catastrophe. And would you be sure to obtain that respite? What guarantee is offered that peace would be the immediate price of the humiliation of the crown? You have nothing but the doubtful word of two men without a mission; would the great institutions of the state ratify the engagement taken in their name, to save appearances, by coming to demand pardon in the name of the victorious revolt? Would the revolutionists consent to so strange a step? Have they even promised to lay down their arms as soon as royalty has capitulated? Is it certain that, by sacrificing royal prerogative to them, we should save the succession to the throne? Have you inquired whether, in the intoxication of their triumph, they would not repel with contempt this succession, which the state of things will, perhaps, incline them to look upon as a derision? In a word, in whose name, in

The King is advised to remove the seat of government.

virtue of what powers, have MM. de Semonville and d'Argout come to propose to the King a capitulation which they would not have the power to make the victors accept?

"*The throne is already upset*, they say. The evil is great, but, I think, exaggerated. I cannot persuade myself that the monarchy is to be crushed in this way—*without a combat*. For it must be confessed that the deplorable street warfare we have witnessed for the last two days, although it has unfortunately cost much blood, does not constitute an energetic resistance, such as we have a right to expect from the best troops in Europe. Be that as it may, Paris is not France; the masses may have been misled by the declamations of liberalism, but they have no desire for a revolution. The houses of parliament do not wish it; the majority of the army is faithful; the guard, wavering for an instant, will soon have resumed a becoming attitude; and, if royalty does not abandon itself with such supports, it will triumph over this new revolutionary attempt. If, however, the genius of evil is once more to have the upper hand; if the legitimate throne is to fall once more, at least let it fall with honour; shame alone has no hope for the future

"I consider it, however, indispensable to annul one of the proclamations of the 25th, not to satisfy the exigences of the revolt, but because the interest of the crown renders it a necessity—it is that which ordains the dissolution of the newly elected Chamber; the government of the King has legality on its side, and it ought to preserve the advantage of its position. His Majesty will have great strength as opposed to the revolutionists when he shows that he has the support of the Chamber. If the King were to adopt this course, it would, moreover, be indispensable to defer for some days the opening of the session which was fixed for the 3rd of August, and, above all, to have both Chambers sit in some other town—not Paris—for which he has the authority of the Charter."

XXII.

These energetic words, from a man who had recommended concessions before the defeat, but who, after the defeat, had not

He appoints a new ministry.

recommended dishonour, were applauded by the Duke d'Angoulême, who was at least a soldier, if no longer a prince. "I regret," said he to his father, "that the majority of the council does not accept; as to the war, if we are reduced to the terrible necessity of prolonging the struggle, we shall find numerous auxiliaries in the provinces, but were we abandoned by all, if the day which is breaking were to be the last of our dynasty we should know how to illustrate our fall, by perishing sword in hand." If the King thought or felt thus, he might still have kept or given away the crown; but, accustomed by long habits of resignation to misfortunes of this kind, never having possessed anything martial but the action, grown old though still vigorous, he had that kind of rashness which risks and loses causes, without the spirit which brings back fortune. He could only reign on horseback, as he often said; he did not decide to fight, but wished still to reign. He hastened to sign the revocation of the ordinances, to name M. de Mortemart president of the council and minister of foreign affairs, and appointed M. Casimir Périer, to be minister of the interior, and General Gérard, to be minister of war. The Duke d'Angoulême, ashamed but silent, paced round the table of abdication, with feverish and almost convulsive agitation; from time to time, he let fall words which revealed the inward contest of his mind, and the meaning of which, unintelligible to those who heard them, was soon revealed by his aversion for the sceptre. "Truly," said this prince, raising his arms towards heaven, "one would be tempted to do like my uncle of Savoy.... But no!.... the Duke of Bordeaux!.... a child on the throne! No, it is impossible!"

XXIII.

The King, after these signatures and these nominations, which seemed to rid him of his responsibility; and restore peace to his mind, thanked his ministers for their devotion to him, and dismissed them like a prince whose heart is not changed by reverse of fortune. They left the crown which had been lost by their complaisance and their fanaticism on the

Imbecility of Charles X.

threshold of this cabinet which they were to enter no more. Neither appeared to be grieved. Party spirit becomes in men a second conscience, which greatly deceives the true conscience, as to the morality of certain acts. They considered themselves victims of the ignorance of Prince de Polignac, and the interested effeminacy of Marmont, but did not think themselves guilty; their defeat affected them more than their fault. Their real fault was their having failed. The princesses and the courtiers, who the preceding evening had commended them, already looked upon them with contempt, and soon with anger. They had no refuge but in this palace. At Paris death menaced them; in the provinces they were threatened with insurrection, with reproaches and contempt in the army, and ingratitude from that part of the clergy which had been one cause of their ruin. They withdrew into the most retired apartments and gardens of the palace, concealing their names and faces. M. de Polignac, alone, remained to the last in the heart of the King, an oracle to whom no attention was officially paid, but who was still listened to, and who was not accused of this misfortune, so sure was every one of his devotion.

General Alexandro de Girardin, an intrepid and popular officer, who traversed the two camps on horseback with the swiftness and daring of a Roundhead, galloped to Paris with the revocation of the ordinances, and to summon M. de Mortemart to St. Cloud. All appeared to be suspended during the hours of negotiation which followed the victory and defeat. The Duke d'Angoulême, on horseback, visited the advanced guard of the royalist army, but without pronouncing a word to encourage the soldiers. The Duchess de Berry, to whom the King communicated the resolutions he had made, assuring her, that thanks to these arrangements, she would be in Paris the next day with her son, exclaimed, "Who, I—I show my humbled face to the Parisians? No, no, never!"

From hour to hour, they awaited the arrival of M. de Mortemart, and the result of the negotiations promised by M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, and M. de Vitrolles.

Nothing arrived but rumours from Paris of the successive defections of the troops of the line, fugitives from the insurgent

M. de Mortemart summoned.

capital, exaggerating by their reports the calamities of the three days, the news of the insurrection at Versailles, and that of the environs of the *banlieue* of Paris, which surrounded more and more the court and the dispirited, but faithful regiments of the royal guard, which were encamped in the gardens and beneath the terraces of the palace. M. de Mortemart had arrived and had had several interviews with the King. A man of illustrious birth and immense fortune, who had passed his youth in the French army under Napoleon,—his services at the Restoration as ambassador of France at St. Petersburg,—his familiarity with the Emperor of Russia, whose esteem he had obtained,—his knowledge of the new conditions imposed on the government by the representative system,—his contempt for the chimeras of a court and the mystical theories of the sacerdotal party,—had given to the name of M. de Mortemart a celebrity which by its modesty was calculated to impart confidence to liberty, and security to the dynasty. His clear sense, his cool devotion, his noble but impassible and spiritual physiognomy, his strict adherence to truth, his repugnance to flatter, made him resemble M. de Richelieu, whose ministry he seemed desirous to revive.

Although M. de Mortemart hastened with loyal eagerness, at the call of his master, and although he had received from him the command to form a cabinet, the King, who seemed to await some miraculous return of good fortune, delayed doing what was necessary to invest M. de Mortemart with legal power. Quick to commit a fault, but slow to repair it, he gave the faction time to plan a dethronement. All gave way to conversation, in which Charles repeated to his new minister what he had said to his court: "I have not forgotten what took place forty years ago; I will not go in a cart, like my brother, I will go on horseback; it is enough for me to have revolutionists like you forced on me." But, continuing the indolent habits he had contracted in time of peace, he sat in apparent security at a card table, with the Duchess de Berry, the Duke de Luxembourg, and the Duke de Duras, and played a few rubbers of whist in a room from which they could see the fire of the bivouacs of his conquered guards and his capital where he had ceased to reign.

But is neglected by the King.

XXIV.

Hardly did they dare to disturb him from his whist to ask for an authorisation or an order. "Wait till to-morrow," was his answer to the importunities of the moment. M. de Mortemart, impatient of the hours which carried away the throne, and which rendered his devotion fruitless, entreated the Duke d'Angoulême to give to the regiments who were encamped on the road to Paris, orders to facilitate the passage of his emissaries into the capital; the prince, as timid before his father, as he was brave under the fire of the enemy, hardly gave any answer. M. de Mortemart retired, discouraged, and saddened by the words and delays of the King, to an apartment that was assigned to him in the castle. He felt that he was at once troublesome and necessary, he was soon to feel himself useless. He spent the whole night awaiting a sign from the King.

The King slept.

XXV.

In the meantime the measures of General Alexandre de Girardin, and the report of the summons of M. de Mortemart to St. Cloud, spread from mouth to mouth in the capital.

M. de Girardin, a man of high birth and unusual activity, connected with the court by his offices, with the army by his rank, with the heads of faction by his ubiquity in all the saloons of Paris, was better suited than any other, if he had been seconded, to have assembled rapidly round the ruins of the monarchy those men who might have saved it. He alone was the life and the ability of a capital. He was as zealous to be of service from his disposition as from feeling. Familiar with Charles X. by having had the direction of his hunts, his sole pleasure, M. de Girardin, through his daily services, had gained some ascendancy over the King; a man accustomed to war and to command, more suited to break through difficulties than to unravel them, he had been, at the commencement of the Polignac ministry, more favourable to the *coup d'état* than

Overtures refused by the people.

became his actual position ; but the ignorance of the execution had made him quickly embrace the opposite side. He redeemed by his ardour to save the King the wrong that he had done, in giving way too much to the violence which had brought on his danger. He was seen in all parts of Paris assembling the popular men to a pacification as the King was making advances.

XXVI.

But the popular men of the Chambers, of the citizens, and of the armed factions, who the preceding evening would have accepted the names of M. de Mortemart, of Casimir-Périer, and of General Gérard, as an unhopèd for pledge of triumph and security, were the next morning themselves carried beyond their expectations by the burst of victory and the indomitable anger of the people. Some white flags, signs of peace, planted on the Boulevard, by some of M. Girardin's emissaries on horseback, were knocked down by the multitude. The blood on the pavement was too warm for the propositions of peace to be read by the side of the corpses. The National Guard, so unseasonably dissolved by M. de Villèle, came in crowds from their houses, and affected to partake of the implacable animation of the people, that they might have the right to restrain them.

Casimir-Périer, who, at the bottom of his heart, was in consternation at a tumult which menaced more than a throne, was proclaimed tribune against his will, and conducted in triumph to the house of M. Lafitte, where the instinct of the day had assembled the chiefs of the leading parties ever since the morning. From time to time were led in troops, who came to give up their arms and to do homage to the revolution, before it had any other name than the names of the conquering nation and of M. Lafitte, who was the idol of the people. His spacious courts, his gardens, his mansion, which was like a palace, had become the camp and the rendezvous of the multitude. The Duke of Choiseul, M. Dupin, M. Audry de Puyraveau, Béranger, Casimir-Périer, his plebeian brothers, who were as proud and almost as imperious as himself; General Gérard, Labbey de Pompières, a laborious but per-

Lafayette installed at the Hôtel de Ville.

severing orator; Lafayette, Alexandre de Laborde, Montalivet, Baude, Mignet, Garnier-Pagès, Bertin de Vaux, Carbonnel, Sarrans, aide-de-camp to Lafayette, who inspired him with his ardour and who covered him with his body; Bérard, Cauchois-Lemaire, the two Aragos, one celebrated for his knowledge, the other for the brilliancy of his ideas; Mauguin, Guizot, Odilon Barrot, Lobau, Odier, De Schonen, Corcelles, Chardelle, Bavoux, Pajol, Sébastiani, Villemain, and a number of men designated by the tribune, by the press, by political societies, by their rank, or by their riches, to rise above the crowd and become popular, had ceased to deliberate, and now acted with energy each for his party; but all, now under the pressure of an insurrection of the people, were impatient to form a centre of action before they established a government. A proclamation, printed and posted in the city by the editors of the *Constitutionnel*, appointed for the direction of public affairs the Duke de Choiseul, General Gérard, and Lafayette, who had been representatives in the year 1789. Béranger had indicated these names to conciliate the aristocracy, democracy, and republicans. Lafayette, whom nothing could intimidate, and whose mind was accessible to any chimera, seized the first opportunity of playing a principal part. "If we cannot have the virtuous Bailly again," cried Bertin de Vaux, with feigned admiration, to encourage Lafayette, "let us congratulate ourselves upon having the illustrious chief of the National Guard!"

Lafayette, surrounded by a group of young people, went on foot to the Hotel de Ville. All gave way to him. He established himself there as if in the Tuileries of the people, in the midst of the shadows of the 14th of July, of the 6th of October of the commune of Paris, and of Thermidor. General Gérard mounted his horse and rode on the Boulevards, giving orders which were willingly obeyed by the National Guards and the troops of the line.

M. Guizot, who did not dare to guess at the conclusion of the event, objected to the appointment of a provisional government, which was proposed by M. Mauguin, who wished thus to assure the downfall of royalty. A sort of dictatorship was

Appointment of a municipal commission.

created under the name of the municipal commission; the names of Casimir-Périer, Lafitte, Gérard, Lafayette, Puyraveau, Lobau, De Schonen, and Mauguin, came out on the ballot. A short and vague proclamation announced this centre of authority to the people of Paris.

M. Odilon Barrot who, while young, was endowed with great purity and talent, and whose opinion had great authority, was named secretary-general, that is to say, prime minister of this government; M. Bavoux, préfet of police; M. Chaudel, an obscure man, director of the post-office. This undecided and timid power hesitated to plant the tri-coloured flag, which would render the parties still in power irreconcilable. Colonel Dumoulin, one of these men, a true revolutionist, who acted before he considered, and whose fanaticism survived its hero, himself unfurled the tri-coloured banner in the balcony of the palace. The Duke de Choiseul, proud of having fought for the Charter, but refraining from any step which exceeded resistance, refused to occupy his post in this government against a government.

XXVII.

This shadow of government, or rather this assembly of contrary opinions, was hardly installed in the hall of liberty in the Hôtel de Ville, when M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, and M. de Vitrolles left St. Cloud, to take to the Parisians the revocation of the ordinances, and the names of the new ministers. From the open carriage which bore them towards the Place de Grève, M. de Semonville flattering the populace by trivial speeches, and by cursing the conquered, at whose feet he had just been kneeling, and whose hands he had just pressed, feigned to enter into their passions and participate in their triumph, to dispose them for peace. The confidant of the secret hatred of the Count d'Artois for the revolution and the Charter, and the author of the secret note, M. de Vitrolles, now transformed into a hostage for liberty and the crown, must have been astonished at playing this new character, and at bearing to the populace the repentance and the concessions of

Vain attempts at negotiation.

royalty. But his name was known to the multitude; and in these tumults people do not ask what a man is but what he does.

M. Marrast, who rehearsed upon the steps of the Hôtel de Ville the long combat he was to fight against another throne, introduced the negociators to the municipal commission over which M. de Lafayette presided. The presence of M. de Vitrolles, who was recognised by some of the commissioners, caused much astonishment. An intermediary whose only pledge to the Charter was his presence in this secret government, which was in flagrant conspiracy against the deeds and the reign of its founder, was mistrusted. M. de Semonville did away with these prejudices, and pledged himself as surety for his colleague. "Good Heavens!" cried M. de Vitrolles to one of the most enraged members of the government, "I am a greater friend to the Charter than you are yourself, for it was I who, in 1814, proposed the royal declaration of Saint-Ouen!" M. de Semonville who was listened to, if not with favour at least with that tolerance which conquerors owe to the last supplications of the conquered, moved his audience without convincing them. "It is too late," said M. de Schonen, who was an intimate friend of Lafayette "the throne of Charles X. has melted into blood."

M. Mauguin, who was more disinterested and more politic, sought to renew the negotiations from which he considered more advantages and less peril could be obtained, than from a revolution without either chief or design. He asked the emissaries from the court if they had any written authority; they replied that they had only words, "If that is the case," cried M. de Puyraveau, trembling for the result of an interview which might re-establish the throne, "retire or I shall order the populace to ascend!" M. de Semonville retired, and left the revolution to itself.

M. d'Argout, privately encouraged by Casimir Périer, determined to try a last effort on the committee of M. Lafitte, who, he thought, would be less attached to the inclinations and feelings of M. de Lafayette. He left M. de Vitrolles, who had assumed another name to escape the clamour of the populace, at the door, entered the house of M. Lafitte. and announced

Fatal imbecility of the King.

the revocation of the ordinances and the nomination of popular ministers. He received in reply the same sentence, as if echoed from the Hôtel de Ville : " It is too late ! " M. Lafitte, M. Bertin de Vaux, and their colleagues, evinced in vain their grief at not daring to renew the negotiations, the breaking off of which alarmed them for the fate of their country, but the wishes of the combatants by whom they were surrounded deterred them. " No more compromises ! No more Bourbons ! " was the unanimous cry which followed M. d'Argout and M. de Vitrolles, and they went to deplore their impotence and grief during the night which was coming on. Upon their return to St. Cloud they conjured M. de Mortemart to go himself to Paris, to contest to the last minute the impending revolution. M. de Mortemart thought as they did. " But what can I do ? " said he ; " by what sign can I be recognised at Paris as the King's minister ? Can I appear there as a political adventurer, disowned, perhaps, before having acted ? The King has not signed anything yet."

XXVIII.

M. de Mortemart and M. d'Argout, however, prepared the acts which revoked the ordinances and invested the new ministers with their functions. But night, the orders of the sentinel, and the inviolable etiquette of the King's chamber, were almost invincible obstacles to all communication between the ministers, the negociators and the prince. M. de Mortemart, with some trouble, passed these barriers, in the name of the safety of the monarchy. When he had arrived at the door of the chamber of Charles X., the officer obstinately forbade his entrance, by order of his master.

M. de Mortemart raised his voice, that he might be heard through the walls. " I entreat you," cried he ; " I hold you responsible for the life of the King." Charles X., roused by these sounds, ordered M. de Mortemart to be admitted. He went up to the bed,— " Ah ! is it you ? " said the old King languidly, like a man whose grief returns to his memory when he awakes. " Well, what is the matter ? " M. de Mortemart

The King consents to revoke the ordinances.

informed him of the state of Paris, of the unsuccessful efforts of M. de Semonville, the nocturnal return of MM. d'Argout and De Vitrolles, and placing the prepared ordinances on the bed, begged him to sign them. "No, no," said the monarch, "the time has not yet come; let us wait." M. de Mortemart insisted; he implored the King not to give way to vain illusions, and to listen himself to MM. de Vitrolles and d'Argout, who would describe the things which were taking place at Paris. The King refused to receive M. d'Argout, who was not intimate at court, and who reminded him of the ministry of M. Decazes, but consented to see M. de Vitrolles. "What!" said he to him reproachfully, "do *you* wish me to yield to rebellious subjects?" M. de Vitrolles apologised for displeasing the King to serve him, and did not conceal from him that his return to Paris appeared questionable; assured him of his devotion, whatever might occur, and spoke to him of the hypothesis of a war, with no opportunity of reconciliation, being carried on far from the capital, in the western provinces.

Charles X. seemed to hope and fear at the name of La Vendée. Fire and sword in the heart of his country, for his cause, roused his conscience and his honour as king. A greater Christian than prince, he thought of the dreadful charge the calamities of a civil war would be against his soul in the sight of God, and against his memory in the sight of posterity. He had passed the whole night weighing these resolutions and irresolutions in his mind. Very sensitive to honour, he had too much pride to enter his triumphant capital, unarmed and humiliated. He afterwards said, during his exile, that when signing the revocation of the ordinances, and the dismissal of M. de Polignac, he was mentally signing his descent from the throne, and his disappearance from his country. He had only delayed his signature so long, that there might be time for Paris to send him the deputations and intercessions promised by M. de Semonville, and thus to preserve the dignity of his retreat, and the independence of his son's throne. But these deputations not appearing, and having to choose only between a parricidal war, and concessions which would only concern himself, he made his sacrifice to Him who reads all

Religious fanaticism of Prince Polignac.

hearts. He uncrowned himself in this world to justify himself in Heaven. He now only struggled with himself about the time and manner of the sacrifice. The return of his negotiators, the persuasion of M. de Mortemart, and the urgency of the case decided him. He recalled his prime minister, and, like a man who fears a return of his own incertitude when performing a deed which he has at last resolved upon, he signed, as hastily and irrevocably as he had consented slowly and unwillingly. His hand trembled, not from age, but from impatience to stop the bloodshed at the expense of his honour.

M. de Polignac, as pious as his master, had not the same scruples. Convinced that it was the duty of the crown to take up arms to restore the ancient and exclusive authority of the church,* and feeling that he was the champion of the faith of St. Louis, and, if necessary, resigned to be a martyr for it, he had decided upon victory or death. He considered, besides, that a king who had drawn his sword ought not to give it up to his people without, at the same time, giving up the monarchy, and creating revolutions throughout Europe. He did not trouble his unfortunate master at the last moment, that he might not hurt the feelings of a friend and an old man, who had ruined himself by listening to his counsels, but his personal conviction did not alter. He would have fought to the last for royalty. When bidding adieu to M. de Mortemart, who left St. Cloud for Paris before daylight, he said, "What a misfortune that my sword should have broken in my hand: I would have fixed the Charter upon an indestructible basis. These words, which appear to be devoid of sense, were true in

* The motives of the Prince de Polignac cannot be doubted by those who have read his writings, and seen into his soul. It was not a monarchical, but a religious war which he faced. He says, in his protestation against the Charter, "With what grief did we perceive, by certain articles in the Charter, that the religion of our fathers, the Christian religion, is attacked in several great and important points. If all religions are tolerated and protected, the dominions of our very Christian king will present a continual scene of outrages against the altar of the true God." This is the whole secret of the reign of Charles X. and the ordinances.

The King's concession treated with contempt.

the acceptance in which they were delivered. He did not wish to take away the civil liberty of France, but to subdue its religious principles. His conduct is inexplicable to those historians who attempt to explain it otherwise than by a conscientious fanaticism.

XXIX.

M. de Mortemart on foot, his coat hung on his arm, perspiring dreadfully, with some difficulty passed the advanced guard of the two armies; he crossed the Seine and the desert plain of Grenelle to enter Paris without being perceived. He arrived late, with a number of workmen who were coming from the neighbouring provinces to assist in the revolution. Through a breach in the wall he entered the capital, where he was going to try alone to raise a fallen throne, when the city, intoxicated with pride, anarchy, and glory, was crowded with people in arms, and echoing with the cry of "*A bas les Bourbons!*"

Derision or death awaited every man who was rash enough to attempt enforcing an abolished authority, in the name of the King—a general enemy. The tri-coloured flag waved on the palaces; the arms of the dynasty were burned in the public places, or hastily effaced from the signs of the purveyors to the crown. The name even of royalty was a crime in the eyes of the multitude, and the temporary chiefs of this shadow of government were undecided, as well as M. de Lafayette, between their recollections of the horrors of the first revolution and timid regrets for the monarchy. It is very evident that M. de Mortemart, if he had spoken, would have found no one to hear, much less to answer him. However, it was his duty to the King to dare everything. There are changes in revolutions which no one can foresee or prevent. In certain situations, to despair is to betray. M. de Mortemart did not betray, but he let the tardy mandate which he had received from his master pass from hand to hand. It would have been more harsh but more salutary not to have accepted it. The refusal would, perhaps, have saved the crown from an ignominy.

His heel had been hurt in his walk; overcome by lassitude

His final wishes are also disregarded.

tude and grief, uncertain of the feelings which his presence and his request would produce at the Hôtel de Ville, he gave the ordinances to his friend M. Collin de Sussy, a peer of France, who courageously took them to the Hôtel de Ville; where M. de Lafayette merely acknowledged their receipt, and where the municipal commission sent them, as a vain petition, from post to post, to be pitied or despised by the people. M. de Mortemart did not renew the negotiations for twenty-four hours, and then with the Duke of Orleans. These negotiations, whose object was the final wishes of Charles X. in behalf of his grandson, expressed to the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, were of no more avail than those of St. Cloud. People were astonished to see the last minister and the last negociator of Charles X. pass from the cabinet of the dethroned King to the premature familiarity of the Duke of Orleans, and become the ambassador of him with whom the previous evening he had contested the prize of the revolution.

BOOK FIFTIETH.

Position of the Duke of Orleans during the contest—His retreat at Raincy ; his hesitation—Intrigues of his partisans—His arrival in Paris ; his pretended refusal to be King—Meeting of the Deputies—The crown offered to him—The first Orleanist proclamation—Events at the Hôtel de Ville—Charles X. offers the post of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom to the Duke ; his refusal—Wishes of the Duchess of Orleans and of Madame Adelaide ; testimony of M. de Chateaubriand—Events at St. Cloud ; Marshal Marmont ; the Duke d'Angoulême—Charles X. leaves Trianon to escape the revolutionary bands ; he retires to Rambouillet—Anxieties of the Court ; arrival of the Duchess d'Angoulême—Abdication in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux ; Letter from Charles X. to the Duke of Orleans—The Duke sends three Commissioners to Rambouillet ; the revolutionary troops follow them—Departure of the court for Cherbourg ; the Guards disbanded ; affecting adieu—Flight of the Ministers ; arrest of Messrs. Polignac, Peyronnet, Guernon de Ranville, and Chantelauze—Embarkation of Charles X. at Cherbourg—Conclusion.

I.

WHILST Charles X. was waiting at St. Cloud for the result of M. de Mortemart's negotiations, all Paris repeated the name of one individual as in itself the sum and substance of the revolution. This was the name of the Duke of Orleans.

The character of this prince has been described in these pages, in the narrative of the first revolution. His almost royal parentage has been stated, with his education by Madame de Genlis, the friend of his father, a woman who could conceal the crafts of ambition and a courtly hypocrisy under the appearance of virtue. His excellent disposition and early intelligence, the popularity eagerly sought by him as a youthful member of the Jacobin club, his unfortunate share in the shame of his father's vote against Louis XVI. ; his first campaign under Dumouriez, who would have made him another Prince of Orange in the hands of the Convention ;

Eminent position of the Duke of Orleans.

his bravery at Jemmapes and Valmy, the two Thermopylae of France; his escape from France with his general; his wanderings in foreign lands; his fine qualities; his talents; his touching regrets at his father's conduct; his own reconciliation with the brothers of Louis XVI., at once honourably sought, and nobly accorded; his marriage with a daughter of the King of Naples; his eagerness to serve in the Spanish and British armies, to rescue Europe and the rights of his family from Napoleon; his return to France in 1814, with his wife and children, and his sister; his equivocal position in England during the second exile of the Bourbons; his second return to Paris; his obsequious homage to Louis XVIII.; his caution, but unceasing flattery at once of the Bonaparte faction in the army, and of the liberal opposition in the Chambers; the brilliant donations, and almost kingly advantages he received under special laws from Charles X., who, by the title of Royal Highness, brought him on the very threshold of the throne; and who, by crown grants, and vast portions of the emigrants' indemnities, raised his fortune above those of any private, or even princely family in Europe—all these circumstances have been already related.

The House of Orleans was now singularly distinguished in its domestic felicity. The Duchess was a pattern of every virtue. Madame Adelaide was a devoted sister. Of its numerous offspring, the daughters possessed all the graces and the sons the noblest qualities. Nothing seemed wanting to the happiness of this family; not even the wise moderation which seemed content with a rank that was sheltered by the higher power of the throne, whilst it thus securely and largely shared its privileges. Such was the position of the Duke of Orleans when the ordinances were promulgated.

II.

This event drew him out, in spite of the subtle but suspected reserve with which he had stood between the King and the nation. Two parts were now at his command, and both were brilliant. He might either have taken the side of the regular

He conceals himself during the revolution.

opposition; headed the people who eagerly wished for his guidance; become the first citizen in France; vindicated the constitution in case of need; and for his reward in the universal revolt, picked up a crown forfeited by an incorrigible line of kings—which would indeed have been the part of an ungrateful man, but at least he would have proved himself a man of courage. Or he might have been true to the claims of race, of family, of gratitude, of duty, of sentiment—claims more worthy and more sure than the suggestions of political craft. For a moment he might have forgotten the favour of the King—his relative, his benefactor, and his friend, and seen his peril only; as a patriot condemned the ministers, but have stood by the throne, set an example that would have been popular and irresistible in him, in favour of hereditary right; he might thus be a loyal mediator between Charles X. and Paris, rally the army, deprive the revolt of its head, receive what must of necessity be granted, the rank of lieutenant-general from his cousin; admit, perhaps, even the abdication of Charles; and then, with the double title of a prince, whose faith was unspotted, and of a real patriot, protect the infant heir to the crown. This would have been the part of a truly honourable, and a great man.

The Duke of Orleans took neither of these parts, but followed a course that made him King; and whilst it gained him the homage of vulgar minds, lost him the esteem of the good, and the affectionate admiration of posterity.

III.

At the first rumour of the rising in Paris, the Duke, to escape being seized by the court or the insurgents, and so compelled to declare the enigma of his whole life, left his wife, his sister, his children, and his attendants, at his palace of Neuilly, a country house, near Paris. He went alone to Raincy, an agreeable retreat in the forest of Bondy. None knew the place of his concealment. Strict orders were given at Neuilly to state that it was unknown, and to cut off all communication with him. He could thus prove a positive *alibi* if accused of being a supporter of the court, or an accomplice of the insurgents. He was perhaps at this moment unaware of

His claims to popularity.

the ambitious struggles in his breast, and was willing to await events. If the people triumphed, the chances of fortune could not fail him in Paris. All the popular leaders, compelled to seek in some one individual a set off to the old dynasty, had agreed to select the Duke of Orleans for the idol that would have the grandeur of a veiled obscurity in the eyes of the multitude. To the republicans he was the son of Philip Egalité, with a name only short of royal, but with revolutionary sympathies, and one who could not be severe upon the regicide cause, without unnaturally attacking the memory of his own father. To the Bonapartists he was a hero of Jemmapes, defender of the tri-coloured flag, a feeble assailant of Napoleon at Lyons, when invading France from Elba, one who, neuter in the struggle of the hundred days, felt for the humiliation of his countrymen at Waterloo, and received the young generals of Napoleon at his table to the exclusion of the emigrants and royalist officers. The constitutionalists liked him as the admirer of Fox and of the representative, and almost republican, government of Great Britain. With the men of letters he was the patron of poets and liberal writers, and the hospitable friend of men of ability slighted by the court. The artists found him a useful, though a frugal protector of the painters, sculptors, and architects employed in adorning his numerous palaces. The bankers saw in him the richest landowner and capitalist of France, who would be sure to give to money the security, the weight, and even the nobility that industry and trade were preparing for this new power in an age of material interests. The middle classes respected in him the man eminently distinguished for his respect to family duties, and for his freedom from vices which, among the highest in rank, had produced so much public scandal; whilst his sons mixed with them at college, with no pretension of superiority beyond superior proficiency in science. The people at large saw in him, with satisfaction, a prince disliked by the court, hated by the courtiers, suspected by the clergy, agreeing with themselves in jealousy of the restored Bourbons, and one who might be excused for being the chief of the nobility, if he would only consent to lower the aristocracy.

The Duke of Orleans rejects all conspiracies.

IV.

He had skilfully cultivated all those favourable dispositions of the public, without ever violating what was due from him to the royal family. Since 1815 his house was an asylum to liberal opinions; a retreat to those who were personally ill-used by the government; the centre of secret opposition. M. de Talleyrand, from the moment he foresaw a schism must arise between the two branches of the restored Bourbons, General Sébastiani, General Foy, Benjamin Constant, Casimir-Pérrier, above them all, Lafitte, whom a man of high rank could so easily beguile by flatteries, all the leading members of opposition in the two Chambers, all the heads of all the factions, old or new, all the eminent writers in the papers who could in any degree influence the public,—all these were received, pitied, praised, caressed by the Duke of Orleans; sometimes with an eager familiarity that passed all ordinary bounds of social usage, and degraded his own lofty station, in order to secure important services. For fifteen years every conspiracy, either to promote the adoption of popular opinions or to advance a political cause, centered its hope in him. M. de Lafayette alone stood apart, the living representative of a party more thoroughly independent than all others; but even that party accepted the Duke of Orleans, as an inevitable substitute for their republic.

V.

Nevertheless, this prince steadily refused to take a part in any conspiracies so dreamed of for his advantage. Whether from integrity of character or from gratitude to the reigning monarch, his resistance had absolutely wearied the men who so perseveringly and so uselessly offered him a crown. M. Thiers, and his patrons in the *Constitutionnel* and in the *National*, put him forward for that crown in spite of such resistance. He reproved them with gentle, but real, severity. One night at a banquet given by him to Charles X. in the Palais Royal, these attempts at an Orleanist revolution almost broke out. A numerous body of young men and the populace shouted

Public demonstration in his favour.

violently in the gardens against the King, and in favour of the Duke. A bonfire was made of the garden-chairs, under the gallery through which the King passed, whilst the crowd addressed his Majesty in obscure, but irritating language. These cries, these giddy demonstrations, the blaze striking upon the windows, recalled the frightful scenes upon the same spot in the revolution of 1789. The King retired abruptly; the Duke was distressed and mortified; the troops, by clearing all approaches to the palace, cast an air of gloom upon the festival.

A few days after this popular excitement, M. Thiers, conversing with the author of this book in those very gardens, laboured to convince him of the necessity of joining the Orleans party, and of abandoning the elder Bourbons to the fate which he said their folly invited. "Loyalty," it was replied, "admitted no reasoning. The faults of Charles X. and his court were deplorable. They were hurrying to the brink of a precipice. Pure duty must prevail over abstract political opinions; and until they committed absolutely guilty acts, such as were not to be speculated upon, but which must sever the royal cause from that of France, the elder Bourbons were to be faithfully served." "You will join us," said M. Thiers, "for those acts will be done." Then pointing to the windows of the Duke of Orleans' palace, he added, "Oh, if this man did not refuse so obstinately, then they would be already accomplished!" The secrets of M. de Talleyrand, M. Lafitte, and the others, who were preparing the revolution, were known to none better than to M. Thiers, already eminent in his party. His remarks on this occasion, which escaped like a heart-felt sigh, prove the firm resistance of the Duke to what his partisans proposed.

VI

However that may have been, M. Lafitte and his friends had now their throne in view, and their usurper ready in their hands, while the people were fighting and victory was still doubtful. The assurance that they could, at the proper moment, furnish a definite character to the revolution, and give France a king in the place of anarchy, permitted their perfect coolness, and even serenity, in making the attempt. As soon as Paris

He is proposed to succeed Charles X.

was evacuated by Marmont, and when the conciliatory proposals of Charles demonstrated his weakness, and showed that a royal army would not re-enter Paris to restore the King, M. Lafitte and his friends, in a placard written by M. Thiers but anonymously, in harmony with the vague popular feeling of the day, first pronounced the name of the Duke of Orleans. This was seizing the monarchy by stealth.

M. Thiers had returned to Paris the evening before, from the hiding place where he had watched the great event, and reflected on its result; he was now at M. Lafitte's, his early patron, and one who first correctly appreciated his great talents.

"Charles X." said this placard "can no longer reign. He has shed the people's blood!

"A republic would expose us to frightful convulsions; it would embroil us with all Europe.

"The Duke of Orleans is devoted to the revolution.

"The Duke of Orleans never fought against us.

"The Duke of Orleans was at Jemmapes.

"The Duke of Orleans is a citizen-king.

"The Duke of Orleans has worn the tri-cocour cockade—the Duke of Orleans is the man to wear it again—we will wear no other.

"The Duke of Orleans does not declare himself. He awaits our vote. Let us proclaim this vote, and he will accept the Charter as we understand it and mean to have it.

"He will accept the crown from the French people."

This placard presented the crisis, the Prince, and the public sentiment in one brief phrase, ably and opportunely expressed. It was the medal of the Duke of Orleans thrown at the feet of every man. It was soon picked up, and soon turned to use. MM. Lafitte, Bérard, Mignet, even Béranger,—republican as he was in theory, monarchist from prudence,—M. Sébastiani, M. Guizot, M. de Broglie, and a crowd of men all then hesitating, with only one foot in the revolution, at length agreed to lay hands on the crown, and give it to the Duke of Orleans in the name of the people. M. Thiers, eager to be seen as a first partisan of the new reign, went, in the name of the little council, to Neuilly, with M. Scheffer, a

The Deputies resolve to offer him the Crown.

young and eminent painter, intensely excited by the enthusiasm of the late contest.

The Duchess of Orleans, anxious, both as a mother and a wife, received M. Thiers with a feverish alarm for the safety of her husband and her sons. She complained with some indignation, but mildly, that they should so little respect her feelings towards a King who had done so much for her family, as to mention to her the appropriation of his crown. Madame Adelaide, sister in law to the Duchess—a princess of masculine temper, the soul of the family councils, from infancy accustomed to the risks and tragedies of revolution—she, too, protested warmly against a step that might hurl her brother over a terrible precipice. The peril seemed to affect her more than the crime; and, after having offered to go to Paris as a guarantee of the patriotism of her house, she gave way to the specious sophisms of M. Thiers, and promised to convey the proposals he had brought to her brother. A gentleman attached to the house, Count Anatole de Montesquiou, hastened to Raincy to entreat the Duke to prevent a republic by devotedly accepting the crown. The Duke long hesitated; at length he set out for Paris. Then he ordered the carriage to come back to Raincy. He again went towards Paris rapidly. He reached the Palais Royal unobserved; and overcome by his own reflections, he seemed to escape from them by retiring to rest in a remote chamber of the Palais Royal, belonging to one of his household

VII.

Early next day, the deputies, who at M. Lafitte's had resolved to make him King, assembled, no more in a private house, but in their Chamber itself, showing, by a well-timed act of courage in this selection of the place of meeting, that their authority was henceforth to be invested with a public sanction. M. Lafitte, the well-known confidant of the Duke of Orleans, was chosen their president, to stay any irregular proposition that might thwart the settled purpose of their meeting.

M. Hyde de Neuville, almost the only man faithful to the monarchy he had served in his youth, and believing that a principle might be saved in the midst of the ruin in which in-

The Deputies invite the Duke of Orleans to Paris.

dividuals were overwhelmed, moved the appointment of committees of both Chambers to devise measures for the public safety, of a nature to protect all interests, and respect conscientious opinions. This motion, which its proposer meant to lead to a new reign, or to a regency under a prince who would be a common guardian of them and the people, was agreed to in a very different spirit. The committee of the deputies,—Augustin Périér, brother to Casimir, Sébastiani, Guizot, Delessert, a banker, then a zealous advocate of the Genevan school, Hyde de Neuville himself, an eloquent but powerless protester against his colleagues—went to the Chamber of Peers at the Luxembourg. The Peers who were the most determined to advocate or to resist the new dynasty, Molé, De Broglie, Choiseul, De Coigny, Macdonald, De Brézé, le Duc de Mortemart, Chateaubriand himself (at once avenged and terrified), received the committee of deputies. The proposal of the Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, was no sooner made than agreed to. It prejudged nothing, and prepared everything. M. de Chateaubriand, absolutely intoxicated by the homage just paid him by the younger liberals, who had borne him in triumph to the Chamber, found some consolation for the tyranny to which he was destined. He swore by his genius that the pen, and two months' writing in the newspapers *at his command*, would restore a throne. The illusions of his eloquence were permitted to a man who had done all to precipitate, and nothing to stay the fall of the Bourbons.

On the return of the committee, the Chamber of Deputies voted an immediate invitation of the Duke of Orleans to Paris, as Lieutenant-General, and a wish to revive the tri-coloured flag. A deputation was appointed to take this certain precursor of the crown to the Prince. M. de Lafayette, always the delusive hope of the republicans at the Hôtel de Ville, and from whom the slightest sign, or a single word, would have crushed this new royalty, himself calmed the indignant murmurs of his friends, and with more secret satisfaction than apparent regret, he suffered the dream of his life, become a reality in vain in his hands, to vanish.. He was content with the trappings of the dictatorship which this vote took from him. he seemed to be in league

Affected hesitation of the Duke of Orleans.

with his opponents, and pushed his complaisance for monarchy so far as to urge M. Lafitte to hasten the debate, since a movement of the republicans was likely to dissolve the Chamber by force of arms.

VIII.

But the Duke of Orleans was now in Paris, and M. Lafitte, informed of it by him, got the resolutions hastily passed. This Prince, however, struggling between his duty and his ambition, still hesitated. He caused M. de Mortemart to be sent for at dawn, as if he still recognised him for a minister of Charles X. He spoke to him confidentially, and as if he was in utter despair at the frightful position traced for him. Cries of "Long live the Duke of Orleans!" were heard below the windows of the Palace. "You hear that?" said M. de Mortemart. "It means you." "No, no," replied the Duke, "I would rather be put to death than accept the crown." He wrote to Charles X. a most loyal and touching letter which M. de Mortemart took to St. Cloud. It was never published.

Soon afterwards, the Deputies arrived with the vote of the Chamber, entreating him to do violence to his own disinterestedness, in order to save France. It was with alarm, mingled with delight, that he listened to the entreaties of his old friends, who now addressed to him, for the sake of France, the same language they had so often used in the name of the liberal party. He withdrew before deciding; and as if, before taking the irrevocable step, he wished to consult the oracle of fortune, he sent General Sébastiani secretly to M. de Talleyrand, to ask whether he should accept or refuse the crown. "Let him accept it, by all means," said Talleyrand, calmly. Sébastiani returned with the phrase of destiny.

A short proclamation, alluding to the violence done to his modesty, in order to avert a common danger, and which mentioned the tri-coloured flag, told the Chamber and all France that they had a dictator until he should become a King. The Assembly replied to this message by a liberal and monarchical

His theatrical acception of the Crown.

plan of government, drawn up by men who were masters of the art of winning minds by eloquent language—M. M. Villain, Guizot, Benjamin Constant. M. Lafitte, President of the Assembly, attended by all his colleagues, and the fickle crowd eager for all solemnities, read this declaration of the Chamber to the Prince. The Duke of Orleans heard it with respectful attention, as the voice of the nation. Then giving way, or pretending to give way to the ebullition of his friendship for the man of the people, he embraced him, shed tears of tenderness, led him into the balcony, and as if he wished in both to represent the alliance of King and people, he held him long by the hand before the multitude, which shouted "Long live the Duke of Orleans! Long live Lafitte!"—the one proud in bestowing a crown—the other happy in receiving it. This spectacle, at once fine and familiar, affected the people, and induced them to attend the Prince with acclamations to the Hôtel de Ville.

The revolutionary camp was still there, with Lafayette as its chief. Gloomy rumours prevailed all over Paris, respecting the intention of this popular army. It was asserted that the municipal committee, the actual combatants, the republicans, the young liberals, the chiefs of the radical clubs, the men known to be always in league to establish freedom, the conspirators from the cellars of the labouring classes, the labouring classes, and the party of Bonapartists, were all to form in battle array, when the Prince should arrive at the Hôtel de Ville, to ask a crown from the hands of the men who were in full insurrection against the monarchy. It was said that a democratic dictatorship was to be proclaimed in the name of Lafayette; that the future king was to be seized at once: that the handful of deputies would be driven off, who, without any commission from the people, were confiscating a national victory for the advantage of a courtly faction. Men even spoke of a reception like that which was given to Marc Anthony, when, in defiance of the people, he offered a diadem to Cæsar; of loaded fire-arms, of concealed poniards, of an ambitious prelude receiving his death-blow instead of a crown.

Nothing of the kind occurred. The popularity of Lafitte,

He is hailed King at the Hôtel de Ville.

and the good nature of Lafayette, opened a safe road to the triumphant Prince. Amid the acclamations of the multitude he advanced on horseback towards the Hôtel de Ville, followed by M. Lafitte on a chair borne by four hired men in rags, to indicate the labouring class, victorious, and voluntarily submitting to the rich. Deputies, whose popular names preceded them, secured the public favour to the Duke of Orleans and his friend. The indignant reproaches of the republicans, enfeebled by the smallness of their numbers, caused a momentary uneasiness; this, however, did but exhibit, by the contrast, the unreflecting impulse of the multitude.

The Prince and his attendants passed the barricades, which the people threw down before them, and ascended the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. M. de Lafayette, quite as much pleased to give up power as to gain it, since it weighed heavy on his hands, while it flattered his pride, smiled upon the loyal display which thus came to dethrone his republic. He took the candidate for the crown by the hand, and from the balcony he presented him to the people as a guarantee for the reign to come. The two chief *figurantes* of the monarchy and of the republic embraced each other under cover of the tri-coloured flag, floating over their heads in the eyes of the multitude. A friendly salutation on the one side, the kiss of a Judas on the other, sold public liberty and the legitimacy of a royal race, deceived those only who were willingly deceived, and instead of unison produced but a brief and false confounding of principles and parties. The people, in all this, saw only the tri-colour flag; blinded by a strip of silk, as a red rag hides the steel and the gore from the poor maddened bull of the public games.

The Duke of Orleans went back to the Palais Royal a King. The younger heads of the republican party,—till now the most difficult to manage, separated from the masses by the course pursued by M. Lafitte, abandoned by the liberal deputies, crushed by the desertion of Lafayette,—went that night to the office of the *National*, and permitted M. Thiers to introduce them to the Prince. The interview had no other results than to colour this compelled submission with a show

He receives the adhesion of the republicans,

of conscientious hesitation, and with discontent. It might be said, that they only sought a pretext to be deceived. These brave young men,—weak in opinions, daring in battle, without any definite purpose, although determined enough in their wish to establish a vague democracy,—Godefroy Cavaignac, Bastide, Guinard, Boinvilliers, Thomas, Chevallon, and the numerous adherents of republicanism in 1830, took, upon this occasion, in the presence of the Duke of Orleans, the attitude of conquerors, whilst they played the part of the vanquished. By the manly energy of their language, they had some compensation for the defeat of their theory. They insisted upon some vain conditions, to give credit to, rather than secure, their surrender. Men were deceived by what passed. It turned out that, among those who had undermined the throne in the name of a republic, there were many conspirators, but few republicans. The confused programme of this usurpation, which an intrigue brought about between the monarchical and the republican principle, constituted a throne surrounded by republican forms. “This is the *best of republics*,” cried M. Odilon Barrot, when pointing the new King out to the people.

IX.

All that remained now was to proclaim him king. The Chamber was quite ready: the deputies only required that there should be a decent show of deliberation in order to satisfy the people, and the Duke wished to place as much as possible in the shade his ingratitude towards his sovereign and his own relative. He wished to confound to the last moment, in his own person, the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom which he held from the Chamber, and the same title which he held from the King, leaving to events, which grew stronger every hour, to force upon him the crime or the misfortune of an usurpation. We will not enter into the details of these gradual approaches to the throne, during the five days which preceded the election of one who had no title, by a parliament which had no mission, to a royalty which had no rights. These details belong to the history of the Orleans monarchy rather than to a

And chooses a ministry from all parties.

history of the Restoration. They are more suited by their nature to the pen of a Cardinal de Retz than to a Tacitus, and descend from tragedy to the upper comedy of intrigue. The drama concluded quite behind the scenes, and thither we shall not follow it. The Empire was not bought exactly as it was in Rome, but *gratifications*, as is very well known, silenced the scruples of some orators who were not backward in receiving the bribes. We will cite only two examples, which attest how the conscience of the usurper imposed hesitation upon his ambition up to the last moment.

He had accepted his ministers from the municipal commission at the Hôtel de Ville. Dupont de l'Eure represented the incorruptible integrity of the citizen inclined to republicanism, but whose patriotic spirit accepted a limited monarchy. Baron Louis represented the hidden influence of M. de Talleyrand, which some republican shame prevented him from showing at first; Gérard was the Bonapartist, merging into the Orleans faction; Rigny represented the naval glory of Navarino, so flattering to the French nation; Bignon represented the bitter rancour of the country at the humiliation imposed on it in 1815; Guizot represented the historical theories of the usurpation of 1688 in England, which example, being regarded as legal there, legitimatised the French usurpation of 1830. He was not long before he called into his ministry the Duke de Broglie, who represented the revolutionary aristocracy, which raised itself, as on its own throne, through its popularity; and M. Lafitte, personifying the *bourgeoisie* triumphing over the humbled aristocracy. He tried to tempt Béranger, the idol of the masses. Béranger, whose sagacious and philosophical genius always refused his name to public affairs, even when imparting his spirit to them, declined political honour in order to preserve independence in his opinions.

X.

Charles X. was informed by the emissaries of the court who came from Paris, that the Duke of Orleans had made his appearance there, and, confident in the fidelity of this prince, to

He declines the office of Lieutenant-General.

whom he had given titles, riches, and his friendship, had addressed to him an ordinance, by which he was made his lieutenant-general. This imposed upon him a bond of fidelity to Charles, as much as it conferred immense power upon himself. The Prince was embarrassed and touched. His heart counselled him to accept this pledge of confidence, and, in responding to it, to save the King, the infant Duke de Bordeaux, and the sacred principle of hereditary right, which was his sole title to the erring choice of the people. Many circumstances perplexed him. His usually clear perception in political affairs was perverted perhaps by the temptation of a throne, which for sixty years had beset the House of Orleans. He well knew the precarious weakness of regencies. As a prince he might reasonably dread the consequences of giving an hour's scope to the threatened republic. It was right to hesitate at being a party to the ruin of his country by a misdirected virtuous sentiment, when it might be saved by the unwilling ambition of a stoic, who, like Brutus, could sacrifice, not the life, but the rights of his royal benefactor. He was bewildered by these thoughts; and he struck his clenched hands in the intense agitation of the conflict, on his forehead. But delay was impossible. The hour and the messenger could not wait. To be silent at this despairing appeal of the King, would have been the last of insults. His most intimate adviser was present in this extremity. All concealment was over there. To accept the royal commission would be to refuse that of the people. M. Dupin,—a man at once supple and hard, equally ready to be reconciled to a political opponent, as to be revenged of a political defeat, one who, low-born himself, was eager to have the people at his feet disarmed—the Duke's legal counsellor, was eager to see him crowned. M. Dupin was directed to write the answer of him who was chosen by the revolutionists as their chief to the King's offer; that reply broke off all terms with Charles X. It was respectful, but cold and cruel as the adverse decree of destiny. The Duke of Orleans read the paper, he seemed to approve of it; but pretending that his wife ought to be consulted before it should be despatched, he went into another apartment of the Palace, secretly suppressed that letter,

M. de Chateaubriand is invited to the Palais Royal.

and wrote another with his own hand that was more respectful, and less decisive. He returned to the assembled ministers with the substituted document in the envelope, which he then sealed in their presence, and sent it off to St. Cloud.

The trick was more honourable to his feelings than to his frankness. It kept alive, too, the King's confidence in his Lieutenant-General a few days longer. It promoted the abdication of Charles, by the hope, thus encouraged, that a regency would be established in favour of his grandson.

XI.

Another anecdote, revealed by M. de Chateaubriand, after his death, seems to prove that the Duke of Orleans did not, in his perplexities, find in the members of his family, as was naturally conjectured, that truth of sentiment generally placed by nature in the hearts of women, to stop the commission of crime by those they love.

We will let the great writer, whose style belongs to history quite as much as his narrative, speak for himself.

"I was very much astonished, when I found myself sought out by the new King. Charles X. had despised my services; the Duke of Orleans made an effort to gain them. First, M. Arago spoke to me, with dignity and earnestness, on the part of Madame Adelaide; then the Count Anatole de Montesquiou called one morning on M. Récamier, and met me there. He said that the Duke and Duchess of Orleans would be delighted to see me if I would go to the Palais Royal. The declaration, which was to change the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom into royalty, was then under consideration. Perhaps, before I stated my opinion upon the subject, the Duke of Orleans thought it advisable to try and weaken my opposition. He might also have thought that I considered myself released by the flight of the three kings.

"The advances of M. de Montesquiou surprised me. However, I did not repulse them; for, without flattering myself with a certainty of success, I thought I could cause some useful truths to be listened to. I went to the Palais Royal with him. Being admitted by the entrance which opens upon the Rue de

His interview with the Duchess of Orleans.

Valois, I found the Duchess of Orleans and Madame Adelaide in their small apartments. I had had the honour of being presented to them before. The Duchess of Orleans made me sit by her, and said to me at once: 'Ah! M. de Chateaubriand, we are sorely perplexed, and most miserable. If parties would unite, all might be saved. What do you think of all these matters?'

"'Madame,' I answered, 'nothing is easier. Charles X. and the Dauphin have abdicated; Henry is now King, his Highness the Duke of Orleans is Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; let him be Regent during the minority of Henry V., and all will be settled.'

"'But, M. de Chateaubriand, the people are very much agitated. we shall fall into anarchy.'

"'Madame, may I venture to ask what are the intentions of his Highness the Duke? Will he accept the crown if offered to him?'

"The two Princesses hesitated to reply. The Duchess of Orleans answered, after a moment's silence—

"'Reflect, M. de Chateaubriand, upon the calamities which may befall us; all honest men should combine to save us from a republic. At Rome, M. de Chateaubriand, you might render such great services, or even if you will not again leave France.'—

"'Your Highness knows well my devotion to the young King, and to his mother.'

"'Ah! M. de Chateaubriand, you have been treated so well by them!'

"'Your Royal Highness would not have me belie my whole life.'

"'M. de Chateaubriand, you do not know my niece: she is so giddy! Poor Caroline! I will send for his Highness the Duke of Orleans; he will persuade you better than I can.'

"The Princess gave her orders, and Louis Philippe came in at the end of a quarter of an hour.

"He was ill-dressed, and looked very much harrassed. I rose, and the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, addressing me, said;

"'The Duchess of Orleans has told you how wretched we are!' And immediately he repeated some verses upon the

He advises the Duke against the Crown.

happiness he enjoyed in the country; upon the life so tranquil and so conformable to his tastes, amongst his children. I seized the moment of a pause, between two stanzas, to speak, respectfully, in my turn, and to repeat nearly the same words I had addressed to the Princesses.

“‘Ah!’ he exclaimed, ‘that is my wish! How I should delight in being the guardian and the support of that child! I think with you, M. de Chateaubriand, that to take the Duke de Bordeaux would be the best thing to be done. I only fear that events are stronger than we.’

“‘Stronger than we are, your Highness? Are you not invested with all the powers of the state? Let us join Henry V., invite the Chambers and the army to come to you, without the walls of Paris. Upon the first rumour of your departure, all this excitement will disappear, and a shelter will be sought under your enlightened and protecting power.’

“Whilst I was speaking, I looked steadily at the Duke. My advice disturbed him greatly, and I read upon his brow the desire to be King.

“‘M. de Chateaubriand,’ he said, without looking at me, ‘the thing is more difficult than you think; matters are not so easily settled; you do not know what a precipice we stand on. A furious band of men may march against the Chambers, and commit the worst excesses; we have nothing yet to defend ourselves with.’

“This remark, which had escaped him unawares, pleased me. It admitted of an irresistible answer.

“‘I understand this difficulty, your Highness; but it may be easily removed. If you do not think you can join Henry, as I was proposing just now, you can take another course. The Chambers are about to open; whatever may be the first proposition made by the deputies, declare that the present Chamber has not the necessary powers,—which is quite true,—to settle the form of government; say that France must be consulted, and that a new Assembly must be elected, with special powers to decide so serious a question. Your Royal Highness will thus place yourself in the most popular position. The republican party, which is now a source of danger to you, will laud you to the skies. During the two months that

Hypocrisy of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans.

will pass, until the meeting of the new legislature, you will organise the National Guard; all your friends, and the friends of the young King, will work with you in the provinces. Let the deputies then come; let the cause that I defend be publicly pleaded for at the tribune. This cause, favoured secretly by you, will obtain an immense majority of votes. The moment of anarchy being passed, you will have nothing more to fear from the violence of the republicans. I do not even see that it will be difficult for you to obtain the support of the General Lafayette and M. Lafitte. What a noble part your highness will play here! You will reign fifteen years in the name of your ward; in fifteen years, the age for repose will await us all; you will have the glory, unexampled in history, to have been able to mount the throne, and to have left it to the legitimate heir. At the same time, you will have brought up this child in the enlightened opinions of the age, and you will have rendered him capable of reigning over France: one of your daughters may, perhaps, one day wear the crown with him.'

"The Duke of Orleans looked up vaguely. 'Excuse me, M. de Chateaubriand,' he said to me; 'to speak to you, I left a deputation, to which I must now return. The Duchess of Orleans has told you how delighted I should be to do what you wish; but believe me, it is I alone who have any control over masses that threaten us all with ruin. If the royalist party is not massacred, it only owes life to my efforts.'

"'Your Highness,' I replied to this unexpected statement, so little connected with the subject of our conversation, 'I have witnessed massacres. Those who have passed through the revolution are *hardened*. Old soldiers are not alarmed by things which terrify recruits.'

"The Duke of Orleans retired, and I went to my friends.

"'Well?' they cried.

"'Well, he means to be king. She means to be queen!

"'They told you so?'

"The one spoke to me of a shepherd's life; the other, of the perils which menaced France, and of the giddiness of *poor Caro line*; both of them wished me to understand that I could be useful to them, and neither one nor the other looked me in the face.

M. de Chateaubriand declines interfering.

"The Duchess of Orleans sent for me once more. The Duke was not present on this occasion. Madame Adelaide was there, as before. The Duchess was more explicit in regard to the favours to be conferred upon me by the Duke. She had the goodness to tell me how great an influence I possessed over public opinion; what sacrifices I had made; how much I was disliked by Charles X. and the court, notwithstanding those sacrifices. She said, that if I wished to be again minister for foreign affairs, the Duke would willingly give me the post. I might, however, prefer to be ambassador to Rome; and she, the Duchess, would be highly gratified that I should go where the cause of our holy faith would be so much benefitted by my presence.

" 'Madame,' I said, with some animation, 'I see that the Duke of Orleans is resolved upon his crown; that he has weighed its results; and reflected upon the years of trouble and danger before him. I have, therefore, no more to say. I am not here to show a want of respect towards the race of the Bourbons. I have first to express my deep sense of what I owe to the kindness intended to myself; and, laying aside the insuperable objections to what is proposed to me,—objections suggested by principle, and by the events that have happened,—I beseech your Royal Highness to let me state my views, so far as they affect any agency of mine.'

" 'Your Royal Highness has condescended to speak of my influence on public opinions. But if that is a real influence, it must be founded on the public esteem for, me; and I should forfeit that esteem by changing sides. In that case, the Duke would gain in me a miserable writer of bombast, a perjured advocate, whom none would attend to, a renegade, whom all would justly insult instead of a useful supporter. Against the few pages he might clumsily pen in favour of Louis Philippe, they would set the volumes he had already published in favour of the fallen family. Was it not I, Madame, who wrote the pamphlet, entitled, *Bonaparte and the Bourbons*; the articles on *The Arrival of Louis XVIII. at Compiègne*; *The Report on the King's Council at Ghent*? *The History of the Life and Death of the Duke de Berry*. I hardly know a single page of mine in which the names of my ancient sovereigns are not in some way mentioned, ac-

Internal struggles of the Duke of Orleans.

accompanied by protestations of my affection and fidelity; a point the more striking, as your Royal Highness knows I have no great faith in kings. The very thought of deserting the cause makes me blush, and the very next day of doing it I should drown myself in the Seine. I beseech your Royal Highness to pardon my warmth. I am overcome by your kindness. I shall never forget it. But you would not disgrace me. Pity me, Madame, pity me!

"I said all this standing, and then bowed, and withdrew. She rose, and leaving the room, said 'I do not pity you, M. de Chateaubriand; I do not pity you!'

"I was greatly surprised at these few words; and particularly at the tone in which they were uttered."

XII.

This story, if correct, and it is difficult to believe that a pos-
thumous writer, with years of premeditation, would borrow the
sacred asylum of the grave to calumniate those who survive him;
this story is the best of all commentaries on the moral state of
the Duke of Orleans for the nine days and nine nights agi-
tation, during which he vacillated between honour and the
throne. The minds of those he depended upon gave way; the
mother alarmed for her son, the sister for her brother, saw no
hope but in an apparent, and compelled unison with the people.
The Prince himself, the soul of probity in domestic life, could
not but condemn, beyond all men, political want of principle. Nor
was ambition his peculiar vice. His nature was rather conser-
vative, than disposed to make conquests. His instincts were
rather those of the father of a family, than those of a
usurper. More attentive to his interests than the pursuit of
glory, he would probably have preferred a secondary station to
the perilous post his party forced upon him. During this long
mental struggle, he was either the most Machiavelian of actors,
or a more weak and irresolute man, reluctantly accepting a
brilliant station of which patriotism seemed to demand his
acceptance. His family was terrified, his party insisted, the
republicans threatened, the people groaned; timidity pointed
at anarchy; the throne had its seductions; false policy insisted

Great confusion at St. Cloud.

that the revolution would obey none but an accomplice. The claims of nature were powerless in his heart. That heart was without an element of enthusiasm; it always calculated, and felt little. This Prince ever yielded to political considerations, and betrayed all natural ties,—the only ties to which great souls are true. History will pity, while it accuses him. He was incapable of being an heroic criminal, or nobly honest. This was the fault of his organisation, not his own. He was an able man,—not a great one.

XIII.

Let us return to St. Cloud. There the confusion of people's minds was breeding those domestic recriminations which are the tumult, the agony, and suicide of falling and desperate parties; angry invectives, midnight agitation filled the palace with sounds of voices and footsteps, with cries, shouts, uproars, and tears, with all but slaughter. Marmont, as we have already seen, had returned there, and the ministers too; all of them skulking and hiding themselves in the dark gardens, or on the palace roof, from the antipathy of the courtiers. The Duke d'Angoulême had there received the general command of the troops. That intrepid prince, devoid of all personal ambition to the crown, wished, at any cost, to save his honour, if not to rescue the throne. Dethronement had no meaning for him unless on the field of battle and by a cannon-ball. He intended to defend until death the military post of St. Cloud, to rally and unite to this nucleus of the Guard and the Line which had left Paris with forty pieces of cannon, and thirteen thousand strong, the camps of St. Omer and Nancy, amounting to 25,000 men more, to give battle to the Parisians with these 38,000 faithful soldiers, soon to be strengthened by troops and volunteers from the West, and supported by Bourmont's army in the South, which army a favourable wind might restore to France in a few days. At the head of forces like these, he thought himself invincible, and that if he should not bring back his father to Paris, he would at least, his nephew; he was at that time still uninformed that a few hours before vacuating Paris, Marmont induced partly by the entreaties of

Scene between Marmont and the Duke d'Angoulême

M. Lafitte and his friends, and partly through his own agitation, had begun a kind of capitulation with the mayors of Paris, who had proposed and solicited an armistice, and that he had himself promised a suspension of hostilities by an untimely proclamation, which encroached upon the Prince's rights, and which suddenly disarmed the crown. This proclamation and suspension were for the soldiers a confession of defeat and a discouragement, whilst the people would hail them as a pledge of victory and an incitement to bolder achievements. As soon as General Talon, indignant and abashed at such irresolution, brought with him from Paris this proclamation, hitherto unknown to the Duke d'Angoulême, he conceived it to be the manifest proof of cowardice or treason, of which there was already a rumour against the marshal. He sent for Marmont into his cabinet to inquire of him the purport of this inexplicable deed. Marmont came in. "So it was you, then," exclaimed the Duke d'Angoulême, when he perceived him; and going up to him, with the proclamation furiously crumpled in his hand; "So, it was you who signed the disarming of the royal troops in the presence of the rebels? You have sworn, then, to betray us also." At the word treason, more deadly than steel to a soldier's heart, Marmont grew pale with anger, and put his hand to the hilt of his sword, as if to vindicate the honour which a prince cannot wrest from a soldier, unless with life. The Duke d'Angoulême suspecting violence and outrage, rushed upon the marshal, snatched his sword out of his hand, cut himself with the blade, which was stained with his blood, and called out for his guards, who, on hearing his cries, arrested the defenceless marshal, and conducted him to his chamber as a prisoner. The Prince, wounded and ashamed, sank into a chair, deploring his fury and his misfortune. The sight of the marshal arrested and disarmed, escorted by a party of body guards through the halls of the palace, spread in all directions the tragic visions of treason and slaughter.

The King having heard what had passed, sent for his son. When he had learned from him the account of his rash behaviour, he formed a more rational and equitable judgment of the general than the Duke d'Angoulême had shown. He released the marshal, and, having loaded him with apologies

Gallant resolution of the Duke d'Angoulême.

and soothing excuses, conjured him to forgive his erring and repentant son. Marmont, softened by the old man's grief, consented both to offer and receive amends from the Prince; but, resentment still lurking in his heart, for the base suspicion which had branded it, he bowed to him, on receiving his apology, declining to touch the hand by which he had been disarmed.

Shortly after this incident the Duchess de Berry, startled from her sleep by the gloomy tidings brought to her from Paris, left her bed half-dressed, and having once more awakened the Duke d'Angoulême by her outcries, upbraided him with provoking the people to attack the palace by his useless courage; and implored him with her tears, and for the safety of her son, to rescue the King and the royal family by falling back with his troops, and hurrying the court away from the capital. The Prince, touched, but not convinced, went on his part to rouse his father, and urged him to set out in the dark, suggesting the royal palace of Trianon as a temporary abode; and, having secured the King's safety and likewise that of the court by a column of body guards, prepared himself to fight at day-break at St. Cloud and Sèvres, for the honour and defence of Trianon.

It was at two o'clock in the morning that the King left the palace of his fathers as a fugitive. He had received no news of the Duke de Mortemart for twenty-four hours. This silent absence disclosed to him the fruitlessness of his concessions, and the demolition of his last hopes. He sent word to M. de Polignac and his colleagues, that he gave himself up once more to their counsels, and carried them off to Trianon in his suite; a posthumous government, adopted by temerity, abandoned by repentance, recalled by despair, and which offered no escape to its members save in devotion until death to the King.

XIV.

Scarcely had the King alighted from his carriage at Trianon—that palace, the seat of the most joyous recollections of his youth, and of the pleasures of Marie Antoinette,—before he summoned M. de Polignac, and his late ministers, to a cabinet council. The ministers, resuming their influence, in consequence of the abortive concessions which left the King no

The King recalls the Polignac ministry.

alternative but conflict, urged the monarch to become, at last, the first soldier in his kingdom. To call about him the troops distant from the capital,—to surround his person with his body-guard,—to take horse, to review the regiments still animated by his presence, and the imminence of his danger,—to oppose an unmoveable phalanx of faithful and warlike soldiers to the disorderly attacks of the people,—to crush the riot in open country,—to win back the drooping prestige of the sceptre by a victory,—to await reinforcements from Normandy, from St. Omer, from Nancy, from Algiers, from La Vendée,—to draw up the army of the monarchy in front of the city of revolution, and reconquer with the sword the right to consolidate a throne undermined by the charter: such was the unanimous advice of the ministers, and the opinion of the King himself. A common cause and a common danger had revived a common courage. Nothing more remained to be done but to execute this plan, the only rational plan conceived by this ministry since its formation.

Meanwhile the ministers were surprised to see their master, instead of ordering out his horses and collecting the regiments of his escort, to hold the intended review and enter upon the execution of this military plan, squander his hours in empty conversations, and linger over a disaster which had ceased to temporise. The King appeared more attentive to things without than to things within; and to expect from minute to minute some message which still tarried, and before the arrival of which he was loth to act. This message came at last; it was from the Duke d'Angoulême. It was communicated in a whisper to the King. The ministers did not hear it. But scarcely had it reached the King before he suddenly broke up the council and dismissed it. An inexplicable coldness in his countenance and tone of voice gave M. de Polignac and his colleagues to understand that, once more, the king's resolution had given way; that his safety now depended entirely on them, and that their presence, so recently invoked, had become a cause of embarrassment and unpopularity to their master. They withdrew, as they had done at St. Cloud, to the most secret apartments in the palace.

The Duke d'Angoulême deserted by his troops.

XV.

The message, which had just overcome the King's resolutions, without their knowing why, was, as we said, from the Duke d'Angoulême. That Prince had remained at St. Cloud, to cover the retreat of his father and to give battle. No sooner was the king safe, than the Duke got on horseback, rode through the regiments bivouacked in the park, incited them by the example of his fidelity, and heard them respond to his own cordial desire. He had no doubt that the columns of the people who were seen from the heights of St. Cloud, advancing in tumultuous bands in the flat grounds about Paris, to cross the Seine at Sèvres, were driven back and restrained like an impotent foam beyond the stream. He galloped up in person, with careless indifference, in front of these unskilled troops, through the avenue to Sèvres, and as far as the bridge of that village, occupied by a battalion of the line and some artillery.

On coming up to the bridge, he sent orders to the battalion to rush upon these masses by whom they were insulted, and fired at from bank to bank. The officer commanding this battalion, whose name was Quartery, and his soldiers as well, heard the order in silence, and did not stir. Irritated at this desertion under fire, the Duke d'Angoulême springs forward alone, followed by the Duke de Guiche,—appeals to the soldiers,—exposes himself, like a target, in the centre of the bridge to the musket balls directed at him, and makes French soldiers blush thus to abandon their general and their prince, without being able to induce them to fight. The officers bear him back in an agony of rage to the Place de Sèvres, facing the bridge. There he orders the troops of the line, who had broken their ranks, to draw themselves up in order of battle against the park railing, and addressing them in a voice in which command, honor, and reproach were mixed together;—“To your ranks, and present arms!” cried he; “and since you mean to desert me desert me at least with the dignified bearing of French soldiers; and though you do not respect your Prince, respect yourselves!”

The King again discards the Polignac ministry.

At this, the battalions of the line, from a lingering sense of habit and decorum, even in desertion, obeyed, but nothing could provoke them to turn their arms upon the people. The skirmishers from Paris passed the bridge of Sèvres unmolested, fraternized with the soldiers, fired upon the Prince's escort, and, being masters of the Seine, were enabled to advance rapidly upon Versailles and Trianon. It was this information which had suddenly caused the change in the King's manner, and convinced him that tardy exertions are as useless as tardy repentance; and that being driven for the future to seek refuge in provinces in a state of partial insurrection, the presence and the names of his ministers, repudiated by his very army, would spread disaffection and desertion around him. He charged M. Capelle, his most trusty confidant, to explain to them, without offence, that their assiduous attendance only sowed suspicion and peril over his fortunes, and to offer them every means of providing for their personal security.

Whilst the King, thankful but coerced by the clamour within his own palace, thus endeavoured to effect the departure of his council, the ministers, assembled among themselves, still consulted together about the measures to be taken to preserve the fragments of his crown. M. Guernon de Ranville, who had always inclined to constitutional measures and an appeal to the country, proposed to transfer the seat of government to Tours, there to call a meeting of the Chambers, to shelter the royal family behind the Loire, in the midst of the army and the national representatives, with the adjacent and faithful provinces of the West to back them, and there taking their stand beneath the sword and the charter, to negotiate with public opinion.

Some days earlier, this resolve might have been their salvation, it was now only a regret. The whole kingdom had felt the shock given at Paris, and yielded to its agitation. France, wounded alike in the most sensitive points of her dignity and liberty by the ordinances, had experienced everywhere the same disturbances. Already not a town remained to afford an asylum to this absolute monarchy in its rout, nor was there any road by which to fly, unless one could be opened by force of arms.

Deplorable situation of the ministers.

It was in the midst of this last forlorn council, that M Capelle communicated to his colleagues the painful message he had been charged with by his unhappy master, and that he offered them the necessary means and passports for their departure. Prince Polignac, dearer and more closely attached to the King than the rest, had already bidden him adieu, and taken an affecting leave of him; he was vanishing from court in that very palace of Trianon, wherein the partiality of Marie Antoinette to his mother had proved so unfortunate to that Queen. In these same gardeus it was that these two women had torn themselves, in tears, out of each other's arms, and that the Queen had been obliged, through dread of the people, to sacrifice her friend and dismiss her. M. de Polignac still thought, at that moment, that Charles X. was going to follow the advice of M. Guernon de Ranville. He addressed his colleagues as they descended the castle steps to enter unnoticed the carriage belonging to the King's chaplains. "So then," said he in an undertone to M. de Ranville, "your advice has been preferred, and we are going to Tours." And then he hurried away.

One or two officers of the royal guard having caught sight of the ministers as they were taking their places amidst the court luggage, drove them back without mercy, telling them that their presence compromised even the King's safety. Repulsed from both camps, they were already made to expiate their rashness by the taunts and revilings of those whom they had intended to serve

XVI.

The Duke d'Angoulême, on his arrival at Trianon, had urged his father to depart. The monarch tore himself from that abode which had been to him but a morning halt. Attended by his body-guards and the regiments of the guard, he took the road to Rambouillet, through the woods. The insurrection at Versailles would not permit him even to revisit the palace of his fathers. He rode on horseback by the side of his son. A sullen silence pervaded the ranks of the body-guards and the regiments of the guard which opened and closed this sad procession. On passing by Saint Cyr, the military school

The King retreats to Rambouillet.

his young nobility, military honour and a touching compassion for this disaster of their sovereign, rent from these young soldiers a shout of "Long live the King!" to soothe the monarch's heart.

They reached the castle of Rambouillet at night, and the army bivouacked in the park. The King was convinced this castle would prove the last limit of his flight, and that here he was to receive, next day, the terms of reconciliation obtained for him by the prudent fidelity of the Duke of Orleans. Here he was waited upon with all the sumptuousness and customary etiquette of that royal residence, which his passion for the chase had endeared to him. Surrounded by twelve thousand troops of his guard, attached to him like a military family, and commanded by his son, he might hope to defy within it for a long period the empty threats of a rebellious people, who had neither discipline, arms, nor artillery. Other regiments of the guard, recalled from Rouen, were hastening to him. He would be able to make war at his pleasure, and either settle or dictate terms. The night was one of sorrow, but hope was still alive. He slept undisturbed until the reports of his officers' guns were heard in the forests, as they took aim at the bucks and roebucks to provision their troops.

At daybreak a travelling carriage, with no servants behind it and without escort, stopped at the iron gates of the park. The astonished guards saw within it the daughter of Louis XVI., so dear to their memory, and so ardently beloved. They hailed her with acclamations, which served to redeem the mournful insults and sorrows of this event. The Duchess d'Angoulême was attended by only one brave officer of her court, Count de Faucigny Lucinge, who had dressed himself in plain clothes to preserve the Princess's *incognita* along a road lined with the disaffected. The Duchess d'Angoulême, who had been removed from Paris, through the King's affectionate anxiety, during the *coup d'état*, had left the baths of Vichy, without any knowledge of the promulgated ordinances. As she passed through Mâcon, she received the first confidential intelligence through the Count de Puymaigre, prefect of the Saône and Loire, at whose house she had alighted. She heard at the same time, not the insurrection, but the first ebullitions of Paris. Anxious, disturbed, and downcast, during

The Duchess d'Angouleme's journey to Rambouillet.

the night, the crowd, as yet not suspecting the events in the capital, took offence at that cold aspect and dry speech which seemed but a poor return to their own homage. They attributed to womanly resentment, and to inexorable memory, that look which was but the presentiment of a second catastrophe.

The following day she set out for Dijon. The revolt of the capital was already known there. The princess, determined to brave the adverse feelings of the town, went that evening to the theatre. Public opinion ascribed to her the spirit at least of the *coup d'état*, if not the language. Cries of: "*Vive la Charte ! à bas les ministres !*" (The charter for ever ! down with the ministers); looks and gestures of defiance, tumultuous excitement assailed the princess as she appeared in her box. The anger of the people rose up to her as it chafed, she left the house with difficulty, tears of indignation standing in her eyes. The people, who hardly know how to assert themselves without insulting what they demolish, forgot her sex, her rank, her virtues, her sufferings, to take vengeance on her supposed complicity. During the night their clamorous menaces shook the hotel in which she slept.

She set out before the dawn, and during her progress felt the rebound of every tumult in Paris. The perils of her family precipitated her course. Her spirit, as it had done at Bordeaux, defied those flushed aspects, those murmurings, those swords, and those shots.

At a short distance from Joigny, the young Duke of Chartres, the Duke of Orleans' eldest son, who commanded a regiment of Chasseurs, moved by the ties of blood, by his age and sympathy, rode up to the door of the carriage, bedewed her hands with tears, and offered his regiment as an escort to protect her. She had watched over this young prince in his childhood, she was attached to him, and his fidelity moved her; but knowing that the King had already quitted Paris, she preferred proceeding privately to join him by avoiding the capital. Dismissing her carriage and attendants, she entered a plain coach attired in a simple dress, and learning from stage to stage, through public rumour, the King's disasters, more bitter to her than her own loss of a crown, she reached Rambouillet.

Charles X., having learnt from the shouts of his guards

Her affecting meeting with the King.

that his beloved niece had arrived, hastened towards her with open arms, with tears in his eyes, and shame upon his brow : "Alas! my daughter," said he to her, "do not reproach me!" "Reproach you!" cried the Princess, clinging to him, and caressing him with filial tenderness; "oh, never, never shall one word from my mouth accuse my father! We are once more together! We will never part again! It is the only throne and the only consolation I ask of Heaven!" The Duke d'Angoulême, the Duchess de Berry, the aged King, the royal child, mingled their embraces and rejoicings. Never, in the days of his power and prosperity, had Charles X. been gladdened with so much piety and love. His family made him amends for his fortune.

XVII.

And fortune had irrevocably abandoned him. The insurrection had left him no part of his kingdom but the castle and park of Rambouillet, and the little army encamped in the forest. One of two courses must be taken—civil war or abdication. We have seen that before leaving St. Cloud the King had humbled his heart before God, and abdicated, beforehand, a crown which he could recover only through streams of his people's blood. He, therefore, continued on his defence at Rambouillet, to retain an attitude of authority, but not to fight.

Being apprised of the universal spread of the revolt, of the desertion and disaffection of the troops of the line, of the failure of his son to maintain the posts of St. Cloud and Trianon, and the course of the Seine; moreover, that even the regiments of his guard had begun to waver, he thought the moment was come to declare his resolution to his family and to his people. He gathered about him, no longer his ministers nor his generals, but a cherished council, made up of his own family: his son, the Duchess d'Angoulême,—who was more than a daughter to him, for she was his brother's as well as his, and he owed her a throne,—the Duchess de Berry, and his grandson, the child of so many hearts, as yet unable to understand the affecting solemnity of this meeting, in which they were at once going to give him an empire and take it away. The doors were closed upon all who did not belong

Abdication of the King and the Duke d'Angoulême

to the blood of Louis XVI. None of us know the language, the entreaties, the objections, the sublime resignation, the tears, both bitter and dutiful, that signalised this seeret council, whence two voluntary abdications came forth. It would be rash and impious to seek to unveil the secrets of family devotion, and the policy of the heart; all we are permitted to say, on the faith of some words which escaped the son of Charles X. the next day and the one following, and which the ill-concealed regrets of the Duchess d'Angoulême in her exile testified to, is, that the Prince did not for a moment resist his father's orders, when it was thought that the innocence of a child would prove a means of reconciliation more generally acceptable to France; that the Duchess d'Angoulême bewailed her fate in having been twice pushed off the steps of a throne, which was to have made her amends for so many reverses, and that, whilst she sacrificed herself to her nephew she felt all the sharpness of the trial; that the Duchess de Berry acknowledged with tears of joy the greatness of this sacrifice, which, by crowning her son, bestowed upon her the unhopèd for guardianship of an empire. Obeyed as a father, but impotent and outraged as a king, Charles X., on the breaking up of this council, wrote that letter to the Duke of Orleans which contained the spirit and resolution of this scene.

"I am," said he, too deeply disturbed by the calamities which afflict and threaten my people not to have sought for a measure to prevent them. I have, therefore, formed the resolution to abdicate the crown in favour of my grandson; the Dauphin, who participates in my sentiments, has likewise renounced his rights in his nephew's favour. It will, therefore, devolve upon you, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, to proclaim the accession of Henry V. to the crown. You will take, moreover, all the necessary measures which belong to your office to settle the form of government during the new King's minority. In this letter I confine myself to the declaration of these settlements; it is a measure to prevent a host of calamities.

"You will communicate my intentions to the diplomatic body, and let me know as soon as possible the proclamation by which my grandson will be declared King in the name of Henry V.

In favour of the Duke de Bordeaux.

"I commission Lieutenant-General Viscount de Latour-Foissac to deliver this letter to you. He has orders to settle with you the arrangements to be made in behalf of the persons who have accompanied me, as well as the arrangements concerning myself and the rest of my family.

"We will regulate hereafter the other measures which will be the consequence of this alteration in the succession.

"I renew to you, my cousin, the assurance of the sentiments with which, I am, your affectionate cousin,

"CHARLES."

It was strange that Charles X. should have drawn up in the form of a letter the important document which changed the succession to the crown. Such an instance of carelessness was remarkable, especially in a monarch who was a scrupulous observer of the laws of etiquette; but the pledges of fidelity contained in the Duke of Orleans' letter, had removed from the mind of Charles X. every doubt. The very manner in which the act of abdication was indited, was a solemn proof of it. The Duke of Orleans, in this act, was spoken of as the natural protector of the childhood of Henry V., and he was left the chief arbiter of every measure which the sinister state of affairs might demand.

XVIII.

The sequel is known, by what we have already related of the intrigues and course of events in Paris.

Meanwhile the Duke of Orleans felt alarmed on knowing that Charles X. was so near the capital, and in the midst of an army which might either fall back upon Paris, or become the vanguard of a Vendéan force. Under the pretence of protecting the royal family from the vengeance of the people, he sent commissioners to watch over his safety. These were M. de Schonen, M. Odilon Barrot, and Marshal Maison. These commissioners had presented themselves at the outposts of the royal army, and been driven off. On their return to Paris the Duke sent them back with injunctions still more decisive. "Let him go!" said he to them, with reference to the King, "let him go directly; and in order to compel him he must be frightened!

March of the revolutionary army to Rambouillet.

"But, if the Duke de Bordeaux is put into our hands to be brought back to Paris," inquired one of the commissioners of the Duke; "what are we to do?"

"The Duke de Bordeaux!" returned the Prince, with genuine or affected loyalty; "why, he is your King!"

"Ah!" exclaimed the Duchess of Orleans, embracing her husband as if to reward these noble sentiments; "you are the most upright man in the kingdom!" Nothing was yet determined, and the heart was delivered of one idea whilst policy was brooding over another.

General Jacqueminot and some other officers, who had served the Emperor, propagated a report that Charles X. was marching towards Paris. Lafayette, who commanded the National Guard of the kingdom, caused the drums to beat, to raise the army of the revolution. In the space of four hours, from ten to twelve thousand men, most of them mere youths, flushed with the three days' conflict, enlisted, took to arms, and, in order to accelerate their pursuit of royalty, throwing themselves into private carriages and the vehicles of traffic, hurried along the road to Rambouillet. General Jacqueminot, Georges Lafayette, the dictator's son, in whom liberty was but filial piety and revolution a duty, marched at the head of these columns. General Pajol, a valiant soldier, who sought renown in every danger, took upon him the chief command of this multitude, which rather resembled a riotous procession than an army. The politicians in the victorious party watched with secret gratification these young revolutionists, still restless and carrying their excitement out of the capital. These columns advanced intrepidly towards Rambouillet. Excelmans who, as a soldier, had offered his sword to Marmont during the three days, now restored to the free exercise of his principles, directed a vanguard. The two armies came up to each other as the day declined. They postponed the attack until the arrival of the commissioners, whom Charles X. this time had consented to receive.

MM. de Schonen, Odilon Barrot, and Maison, arrived at the castle about dusk. They found the King vexed and irritated by the obstruction he met with in his endeavours to transfer the crown to his grandson, and beginning to suspect that he was

The King's departure from Rambouillet.

making but a useless sacrifice. "What do you require of me?" said he to them in the tone of a sovereign. "I have settled everything with the Duke of Orleans, my Lieutenant-General." "M. Odilon Barrot, whom the moderation of his opinions and the propriety of his sentiments rendered a more suitable speaker to the prince than his colleagues, soothed his anger, spoke to him with respectful kindness of the impending danger of a mortal strife, for which he would be answerable; of the account which kings must render to mankind for the lives of their subjects; of the fire which would be kindled throughout the kingdom by the first shot commanded by the King; of the danger and the fallacy of hoping, with the blood of Frenchmen, to cement the future chances of his grandson to the throne. The King seemed to be touched, and evidently wanted but a pretext to yield with honour to a force of circumstances manifestly too strong to be resisted. He took apart Marshal Maison, whose military authority would, at least, serve him as an excuse to Europe and to himself, and leading him into the embrasure of a window:

"My lord marshal," said he, appealing to his good faith, "tell me, on your honour, whether the army of Paris, which is marching against my troops, is really eighty thousand strong!"

"Sire," answered the marshal, desirous to deceive and remove the King he had deserted in his misfortune, "I dare not positively specify the number, but that army is numerous, and may possibly reach that number."

"Enough," replied the King; "I believe you; and I will agree to all you propose, to spare the lives of my guards."

Marshal Maison owed his name to his own valour, and to his military talents under the Republic and the Empire; but he owed to Charles X. his command of the army in Greece, and his elevated rank. He showed himself, on this occasion, to be one of those soldiers in whom the noble career of arms is rather a glorious pursuit than a dutiful obedience.

XIX.

The King and the royal family departed for Cherbourg, under the escort of their army as far as the Castle of Mainte-

Charles X. disbands his army.

non, an almost royal residence belonging to the family of Noailles, and which bears the name of its founder. Here they were received by the Duke and Duchess de Noailles, a royalist family, whose devotion to the crown by traditional descent was now enhanced and softened by pious sympathy with royal misfortune. These faithful servants and all their family pressed with affection round the King and the princesses, as if to prevent them from feeling at their hearth that they had only halted on the way to exile. The King, agreeably to his promise to the commissioners, now disbanded his royal guard in a short proclamation, ordering the regiments to make their way to Paris, and there to submit to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ; for such was the title which, on the 4th August, Charles X. still gave to the Duke of Orleans.

All he retained as his escort were the body guards and the gendarmerie, with six pieces of cannon. Marshal Marmont, who accompanied him, received again the principal command of these troops ; an atonement which the King's goodness considered to be due to the marshal's vexation, after his son's violence. Marshal Maison, who was quartered with his colleagues at the castle of Maintenon, marked out on the map, rather as a pro-consul of the people than as a marshal of France, the route of the King's progress, and his resting places on the way to Cherbourg, forgetting that it was he himself who had had the honour, in the name of the French army, to go and meet Louis XVIII. at Calais.

The next morning, after the King had breakfasted, the whole army drew up in battle order before the castle and along the road, to give vent to its last shout of fidelity to the monarch, and to take its last look at the royal family. The Duchess de Noailles stood at the threshold, weeping and curtsying to her august guests. The King's face was sorrowful, but resigned, expressive of a conscience overcome by fate, but confident in the uprightness of its purposes ; the Duke d'Angoulême, more mindful of his father's affliction than of the loss of a crown ; the Duchess d'Angoulême, whose noble stateliness grew with adversity, gave her hand, to be kissed, to the officers of the guard, who idolised her, and said to them through her sobs, which she could not quite restrain : " My

The royal family departs for Cherbourg.

friends, may you be happy!" The Duchess de Berry, dressed in male attire, and leading her son by the hand, could not believe that so high a fortune would be long eclipsed, and seemed to ruminate on the return rather than the departure.

The royal *cortège* rode out of the courtyard, and proceeded slowly along the Dreux road. A squadron of the body guards went first,—a family troop which, since the time of Louis XIV., had taken part in every parade, in every glory, and in every disaster of the royal family. The Duke d'Angoulême, on horseback, preceded the carriages containing the princesses, the royal children, and his father. The King leaned back in his carriage, and wept as he beheld his guard, who lined the road, presenting arms and deploring this defeat without battle. The Duchess de Berry, as she rode by the regiments, had the carriage door opened, and, showing her son to the soldiers, seemed to upbraid them with faults and weaknesses of which they were innocent. Female anger had given a flush to her features; she forgot that the folly of her own *coterie* in stimulating the King's rashness had aggravated the faults, the authors of which she was now accusing. "My friends," said the Duchess d'Angoulême again, to the generals who saluted her with their swords, "know, however, and mark it well, that I have had no share in this disaster!" She was eager to wash her hands of the suspicion of having fomented the *coup d'état*. It was true she had been apprehensive of Prince Polignac's inexperience and untowardness in his measures; but, being the centre of the court and church parties at the Tuileries, more resolute than politic, none had reproached the King more bitterly with his indulgence to what was called revolution by the court, or so much disposed the minds of her uncle and husband, to brave and defy the strength of the people. One long and mournful acclamation of the troops rent the air, as the sob of the army. The *cortège* disappeared on the road to Dreux. The regiments turned their horses' heads, and marched back to Chartres and Paris.

XX.

The King left his kingdom a poorer man than he had entered it. What little gold he had at St. Cloud in his

Their melancholy journey.

coffer for his private expenses, had been laid out for provisions to supply the troops, and in pay to the guards. He was driven to the necessity of selling his plate at Dreux and Verneuil, to pay for the food of the latter. The faithful servants who surrounded him, still kept up, and observed towards him and the royal family, at every halting-place on the road and in the poorest house, under the roof of which they were sheltered, all the ceremonial and etiquette of the Tuilleries. Every day was like the rest in the sad sameness of this procession. In order to avoid in the towns through which they went, the scornful and insulting looks of the people, the King rode out in his carriage every morning from the house he had slept at; and half-an-hour afterwards got on horseback, and rode by his son's side, between the ranks of his escort. Half-an-hour before reaching the night quarters he entered his carriage again. Marmont rode on horseback behind the King's carriage. The court attending on the princes and princesses was limited, but respectful, and as faithful to misfortune as it had been to grandeur. It comprised names to which history must pay the tribute due to duty and gratitude honourably fulfilled: Marmont, unfortunate, irresolute, but only culpable of weakness of character; the Duke of Luxembourg; the Prince of Croi; Solre, captain of the guards; General Augusto de Larochejaquelein, a name which grows with the reverses of the monarchy; the Duke Armand de Polignac, principal equerry; the Duke of Guiche and the Duke de Levis, aides-de-camp to the Duke d'Angoulême: Madame de Saint-Maure, lady of honour to the duchess; the Countess de Bouillé, lady of honour to the Duchess de Berry; Count de Mesnard, her principal equerry, and Count de Brissac, her gentleman in waiting; the Baron de Damas, governor of the Duke de Bordeaux; M. de Barbançois and M. de Maupas, his sub-governors, watched over the child as the wreck and last hope of so many thrones; the Countess of Montaut had care of his young sister.

The people all along the road were still decorous and respectful. The shadow of this monarchy impressed them with awe more than the monarchy itself; there was as much nature as royalty in its mourning. Great catastrophes have great reactions in men's imaginations. They respected the King's

The King's parting with his guard.

fall all the more that they no longer dreaded his return. They spared him almost everywhere, with instinctive decorum, the sight of the tri-coloured flag and cockade, palpable signs of his dethronement. In one or two of the manufacturing towns of Normandy there was an anticipation of taunts and insults on the part of the workmen. These fears were vain: the marks of disfavour were confined to a few threatening groans aimed at Marmont, whose fame of 1814 everywhere preceded him as a military and national resentment. On approaching Cherbourg he was under the necessity of removing the orders which he wore on his chest to hide his rank, his dignity, and his name, from the rancour of the people.

The King read the *Moniteur* every morning, to watch the spectacle of his own ruin with his own eyes. At Carentan, he learned that the Duke of Orleans had consummated his usurpation. He uttered neither a reproach, nor a single unkind observation on that prince's acts, whether he still relied on the assurances which the Duke of Orleans had transmitted to him at St. Cloud and Rambouillet, or whether he thought that prince only accepted the crown through the temporary force of circumstances, to return it afterwards to his grandson; or, rather, whether he thought it more congenial to his soul to bear silently, and without complaining, the last and most cruel of all felonious acts,—that perpetrated by his own blood!

He stopped for two days at Valognes, in order to leave time for the vessels prepared for his use to reach Cherbourg. He there collected around him the officers and six of the oldest guardsmen of each of the companies that escorted him, more like a father than a King. The Duke d'Angoulême, the Duchess, his wife, the Duchess de Berry, the Duke de Bordeaux, and his sister, stood about him in a group, to engrave in the eyes and in the memory of every member of the banished family the names, the faces, and the grief of their last faithful soldiers. Charles X. having taken from their hands the flags of their comrades, like a King parting with his people, thanked them in a voice broken by his sobs, for their tender and unyielding fidelity. "I receive your standards, and this boy shall one day return them to you," said he, as he touched with a trembling hand, the forehead of the Duke de Bordeaux; "the names of the guards,

Tardy departure of the royal family.

registered in your books and remembered by my grandson, shall continue to be enrolled in the records of the royal family, to stand as an everlasting witness of my misfortunes, and the consolations I derived from your fidelity!"

This heart-rending adieu drew tears from every soldier in that little army, and even from the people of the town. The devotion of these troops to their prince, inherited from their fathers, and transmitted to them from their ancestors, was not only a duty, but an instinctive feeling. It was more than their country's chief, it was the first among gentlemen, it was their father whom this young nobility were mourning in the King.

Charles X. and the Duke d'Angoulême, after this farewell to the troops, laid aside the military dress and decorations they had hitherto worn. They shrank from the eyes of the people, and assumed beforehand the garb of that exile already so close at hand.

XXI

This journey had now lasted a fortnight, with an affected tardiness which worried the impatient commissioners and the new King, and appeared to be waiting some unknown event, as if Paris had not finally declared the will of France. Some understood thereby the reluctance of an old man, counting every step he took to leave a land he adored, and a country he was losing; others, that he expected a rising in the West and South in consequence of a landing of Bourmont, bringing the African army to support the monarchy; some as a season occupied by the still pending negotiations with the Duke of Orleans; others, in fine, as a kingly attitude, maintained even in defeat to confront evil fortune in a dignified manner, and to engrave in the minds of the people a solemn idea of the very phantom of royalty.

Be that as it may, and probably all these influences operating at once, Charles X. withdrew step by step, and lingeringly, out of the Empire, as one who abdicates his right, but who will not be drawn out nor insulted, and who to win the world's respect, respects himself amidst his reverses. He does not fly, not he, like a king upon the stage in some pitiful disguise, but faces about to look at his revolted kingdom, respectful even

Popular feeling against the ministers.

in its desertion. These two dispersions of the legitimate monarchy within half a century were proofs of its power in its very weakness, and did not at least dishonour the kings. Neither of the two kings, neither of the two brothers who bore it away with them, degraded his misfortune. One of these, Louis XVI., took his departure from the scaffold; the other, Charles X., took his departure from the shore, with all the majesty of a king; both departures were worthy of the French crown. The people conquered them and made them a sacrifice, but had no right to despise their calamity. Charles X. saw himself respected when his last footstep was printed on the French beach.

XXII.

The people seemed to hoard-up all their anger and resentment for the ministers, as if, whilst charging them with their designs against liberty, they meant to tax them, at the same time, with a like attempt against monarchy, and to call them to account for the void which the disappearance of the Restoration was about to leave in the State.

Whilst the King was advancing towards Cherbourg, his last station, his ministers were escaping, by various roads, from the popular rage, which sped before them and threatened them everywhere.

Prince Polignac, whose name with the people implied the whole crime, and, with the royalists, the whole calamity of the case, had remained at Trianon until the latest hour, balancing between his filial affection for the King, whom he revered as a father, and the dread of thwarting, by his presence, the negotiation set on foot to rescue, if not his throne, at least that of his grandson. Cruel situation, in which his fidelity commanded him to remain, whilst a still greater loyalty ordered him to go. Durable were the anxieties, and heart-rending the adieu between the aged King and the ill-starred, but faithful minister, who, after he had interposed his responsibility, was now offering his life. Superior in this respect to Charles I. of England, Charles X. scorned to deliver up a new Strafford, as a ransom and a sacrifice to his people. "Go, I command you," said he, as a father, to Prince Polignac. "I remember nothing but

The Princess de Polignac.

your fortitude, and do not lay our misfortune at your door. Our cause was God's own, the crown's, and the people's; Providence tries its servants, and often baffles the best designs, for reasons above our comprehension; but it never deceives an upright conscience. As yet nothing is lost to my house. I am going to fight with one hand, and to compromise with the other. Place yourself behind the Loire, where you will not be exposed to the tumults and resentment of the deluded people, in the midst of my army, which has orders to proceed to Chartres." Prince Polignac kissed the King's hands, and could not restrain his tears.

XXIII.

The Princess Polignac—the prince's second wife, was an English lady, young, lovely, high-spirited, a stranger by her country to the quarrels which distract ours, and having no interest in our domestic strifes, save that of her tenderness and devotion to her husband, having quietly withdrawn to her Château de Millemont, in the country, during the *coup d'état*, six months' gone with child, watching over the children of the first marriage at the same time with her own, doubly a mother by this two-fold affection, and disturbed by the dangers her husband was exposed to,—had no sooner heard of the insurrection at Paris, and flight to St. Cloud, than she hastened, despite the entreaties of those about her, to share the peril of the prince she loved, through every fortune. But before her carriage, escorted by four gendarmes, had reached the gates of Versailles, the insurrection had spread to every road leading to St. Cloud; the people of Versailles, taking offence at the appearance of her escort, and exasperated by her name, had pursued her with revilings. Threatened with death, and carried to the *municipalité*, which she could only leave in the disguise of a woman of humble life, to regain her husband at Trianon; by taking the forest, she reached that palace as the insurrection drew near, and drove out the King. The Prince had only time to commit the princess to some faithful hand to conduct her, by a private road, to her children in a retirement where her own sex and their age would secure them from his unpopularity. As to himself, having found in the intrepid

Apprehension of the Prince de Polignac.

friendship of Madame de Morfontaine, the daughter of Lepelletier de St. Fargeau, formerly adopted as the child of the republic—a protector unsuspected by the people—he put on the disguise of a servant of the house, and taking his place in that character on the lady's coachbox, he crossed through Normandy without being known, and concealed himself in the neighbourhood of Granville, in the opulent abode of his deliverer. He was safe from all inquiry and from all suspicion, in the house of a woman whose revolutionary name was a guarantee for all her inmates.

XXIV.

Some private and prudent agents freighted for him a fishing boat to carry him to the English coast. The Prince removed to Granville to embark; but the contrary wind and the stormy sea having prevented the boat from putting to sea, M. de Polignac was obliged to enter a country inn at Granville, and wait there for a few days until the wind changed. His elegant figure, noble features, the fineness of his linen, and a ring he wore on his finger, a book he read in his room to wile away the heavy hours, all those signs, so inconsistent with the vulgar garb he was dressed in, raised suspicions in the minds of the frequenters of the inn, who imparted what they had observed to some National Guards, met together to proclaim the overthrow of the late, and the establishment of the new government. Being seized, dragged to the mayoralty, questioned, and threatened if he was one of the ministers of Charles X., with the daggers of the mob, he was hurried off to the prison of Granville, without acknowledging his name, amidst the more than unwarrantable fury of the multitude.

The next day, the Prince, in the presence of the mayor of Granville, declared his name; the magistrates suppressed it for his sake, and sent him off to Saint Lô, under an escort of National Guards; but the secret transpired as they led him through Coutances, the populace broke out into riot round the post-house, and, instigated by the calumnious reports which attributed to his agents the burnings in Normandy, threatened to massacre him. He saw a number of knives raised above his breast, and was rescued from death solely by his cool be-

His confinement in the Castle of Vincennes.

behaviour, and the spirit of his escort. From Saint Lo, he was removed under a false name, to the Castle of Vincennes, where he endured with passive and pious resignation, the torture of a whole people's hatred, and the still greater anguish for the ruin of a throne which he had sworn to consolidate and redeem.

XXV.

This same dungeon had been the cause, and was now to be the expiation of his political errors. It was at Vincennes, that a companion of his first captivity in 1800, had instilled into his soul, till then without belief, that fervent and concentrated faith in the truth of the Catholic creed, which had become the comfort of his cell, the rule of his life, and unfortunately at a later period, the predominant subject of his policy. He had conceived it to be a duty to his country, to re-establish politically, the religious doctrines and institutions which satisfied his mind and spirit. To restore the church by the power of the throne, and to support the throne by the authority of the church, had been since that day the one great ambition of his life. That unselfish ambition in him was merely the pure attachment to an executive theocracy, which corresponded likewise with the genuine, but narrow-minded piety of Charles X. They neither of them were covetous of an absolute, and still less of a tyrannical, authority; they desired to re-establish the power of the state solely to surrender France to God by that means; they forgot that faith in all religions is holy only on condition of being free, and that every worship which a government sets up perishes in its fall; they were both sincere when they affirmed that they did not intend to violate the charter; the political and representative interests would have found them liberal, had their zealous opinions allowed it; all they conspired against was the mind of man.

Pure in spirit, honest in character, cultivated in mind, devoted in heart, M. de Polignac, was one of those men so common in history, who have produced great havoc with good intentions, and who have no other crime to answer for than a contracted understanding, which throws a shade over their renown without staining it with disgrace.

Adventures of the other ministers.

M. de Peyronnet had just been arrested in his flight, and imprisoned at Tours. His audacity in the cabinet had been converted into courage in the cells. As the conquered enemy of the revolution he would have been its sacrifice without fear; covetous of fame, he knew that the glory of illustrious executions frequently in the eyes of posterity redeems great errors; the scaffold of Lord Strafford was not repugnant to him.

XXVI.

We left M. Guernon de Ranville and M. de Chantelauze on the doorsteps of Trianon, at that parting moment when, dismissed by the King and insulted by the courtiers, they found shelter in the carriages of the royal chaplain, to proceed to Rambouillet after the fugitive family. Having arrived in the park at night their names being hateful to the troops who bivouacked there, afraid to enter the castle where their presence would affect the King's negotiations, and take from them an air of sincerity and repentance which the repeal of the ordinances implied, they alighted at the iron gate of the palace, and, stealing through the darkness, went to pass the night at a mean tavern of the suburb; but so great was the throng about the royal abode, and in the adjacent streets, that the two skulkers could not find either a coach or a cart to convey them to Chartres, from which they hoped to make their way to Tours and the Vendéan districts. M. Guernon de Ranville, being young and strong, might easily have escaped through the fields and reached the Loire, had he thought of himself only; but he could not consent to desert in the perils of the road his friend and colleague, M. de Chantelauze, who was ill and weak, and therefore could go but slowly. Provided with fictitious passports, clad in mean attire, and covered with mud, they set out on foot, and reached Chartres at the end of fourteen hours walk, continually impeded by the weakness and exhaustion of M. de Chantelauze. The conversations they had entered into on the highway with the common people, and foot travellers, had informed them wherever they went of the execration in which the ministers and bishops were held, popular error having ascribed to them the burnings by which those provinces

Some are seized and others escape.

had been wasted. The names of Prince Polignac and his colleagues had already become a jest and a mockery among the peasantry in those parts.

Having arrived at Chartres, they slunk through the streets beneath the tri-coloured flags hanging from the windows of the houses, and were greeted with the shouts of "Death to the ministers!" They passed the night in a wine-shop of the place, without exciting suspicion, and got into a public coach before dawn to go to Châteaudun. Their fellow travellers, consisting of deserters, pedlars, tavern spouters—all of them frantic against the court—never ceased to rail against Charles X., his clergy and his ministers, and to predict that the people would wreak their vengeance on the malefactors who had shed the nation's blood.

At Châteaudun, the two wanderers contrived once more to elude the spontaneous pursuit of the mob, and to procure a cart, which conveyed them to the gates of Tours. They then dismissed their carriage, and attempted to go round the city on foot in the dark; but the anxious and scrupulous caution of the two travellers betrayed them, and, soon after being pursued and captured by the rural National Guards, they were brought back prisoners to Tours, where their real names were shortly after discovered. A few days later the two fugitives were carried to Vincennes; others contrived to pass beyond the frontiers with borrowed names. A carriage in the King's retinue, which was thought to be empty, the blinds being carefully shut the whole way, preventing the royal escort from looking in, was said to conceal the most guilty among the counsellors of the court, and the most exposed to the people's resentment. The only reproach to which that prince is liable is, that he did not show the same regard for his ministers who had staked their heads to secure his crown. When a king retreats before his people he must leave no prisoners behind, for these very prisoners may the next day become victims.

XXVII.

The King was drawing near the gates of Cherbourg; from the top of the rising ground overlooking the town, the sea of

Arrival of the royal family at Cherbourg.

the exile expanded to his view. He wept at the sight. A rumour had been spread of an expected ferment among the people of Cherbourg, threatening the safety and dignity of the King and his family. The Duchess d'Angoulême ordered her carriage to stop, that she might place herself in the King's to share his danger. This report was false and unjust to the popular feelings, which in these districts are full of veneration for the memory of their benefactor Louis XVI., who created Cherbourg. The whole population of the town and country round, drawn up on both sides of the way by which Charles X. had to pass, was moved to pity at the sight of three royal generations about to leave a kingdom before they knew where to find a country. The women and children especially, innocent victims at all times, melted the hearts of every father, husband, and mother in the crowd, as evinced by their looks of surprise at their misfortune, and their sad smiles over the wreck. The tri-coloured flags had been taken down from the windows of the private houses as the *cortège* moved along, to spare the conquered monarch a gratuitous humiliation.

XXVIII.

The King and his escort did not alight within the town, but entered a railed enclosure between the market-place and the strand at Cherbourg; the iron gate was closed upon them. The people hurried there and clung to the rails in crowds to contemplate the grandest spectacle in the fate of mankind, the ostracism of a king, the heir of sixty kings without a country. The royal family for the last time alighted from their carriages on the brink of the beach washed by the waves; the Duchess d'Angoulême bathed in tears, and staggering under the shock of her last exile, was deprived at once of a kingdom and a crown. M. de Larochejaquelein assisted her to pass over the last ground, leaning at least on a heroic arm. M. de Charette, another Vendéan officer, whose name was a prognostic, escorted the Duchess de Berry. More of indignation than of sorrow was visible in the countenance of that young widow on leaving a land which had drunk the blood of her husband, and which was now proscribing her innocent and

Their departure for Scotland.

helpless child. The Baron de Damas, faithful as duty, like piety serene, carried in his arms as a providential trust, his pupil, already a king before his time, and whose royalty opened with disaster. The child struggled with its little arms against banishment.

King Charles X. continued the last on the beach, like one covering the retreat of his whole house. All the officers of his guard defiled before him, for the last time, kissing his hand and weeping over it; he then passed on and joined his family in the ship without turning round, and shut himself up alone to pray and weep. A mournful silence pervaded the French coast; many lamentations, but no insult, followed him over the deep. The vessel bore him towards Scotland, where England had in store for him the lonely and recluse hospitality of Holyrood,—a palace abandoned by Mary Stuart, fraught with dark deeds, and significant of sad lessons to a dynasty dethroned for having sought to inflict upon their subjects, through a pious policy, the yoke of Rome, and for having persecuted the freedom of the human mind in its most inviolable place, the conscience of the nation.

XXIX.

Such was the end of the Restoration,—the most difficult government among all those which history records for men's instruction, and which, with the best intentions, leads to the most inevitable faults; because those things which revolution had abolished, and which are identified with the exiled dynasty, naturally struggle to come back with that dynasty, and give umbrage to new things; and because kings and people, who mutually regret each other, and would fain be reconciled, are constantly irritated by their recollections and by old parties, who seek to recover their dogmas and privileges, at the expense of both king and people. New monarchies are demolished by their enemies; restored ones by their friends. Nothing survives but the Divine power, which manifests itself in the sovereignty of the people, and which liberty renders legitimate.

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